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POLITICAL PARTIES CONFERENCE

TULF LEADERS IN COLOMBO

A SIX-MEMBER delegation of the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has arrived in Colombo on the eve of the second round of discussions of the Political Parties Conference (PPC), to be held on 15 July. Although they will have direct negotiations with government leaders on the proposals presented by President Jayawardene on 25 June to the PPC, the TULF leaders will not participate in the PPC.

The TULF leaders have had discussions with the leaders of the Tamil militant groups resident in South India before they arrived in Colombo. India has already made its wish known that the Tamil side should give serious consideration to the government's proposals. The decision of the TULF to go to Colombo was partly due to the urging from New Delhi.

Sources close to the Tamil militant groups have indicated that they regarded the government's latest proposals as inadequate and that they did not take account of the basic four principles put forward by them at Thimphu last year: (a) the recognition of the right of self-determination to the Tamils; (b) recognition of the Tamil speaking people as a distinct nationality; (c) the recognition and guarantee of the integrity of Tamil homelands; and (d) the grant of citizenship rights to all Tamils resident in Sri Lanka.

The TULF is of the view that the participation of the Tamil militant groups in any negotiation is inevitable and a must if there is to be a lasting negotiated solution.

Mr. P. Chidamparam, a Minister of State of the Indian central government, who led the last Indian mediating team to Colombo at the end of April said, "We have impressed on the militants that they will have to co-operate in the search for a political solution. They went along with that. They are not yet convinced that the Sri Lankan government is genuine in its proposals. But I don't think they are opposed to the idea of a political solution". Denying that India was applying any pressure or threats upon the militants, the Minister added, "We have simply emphasised the wisdom of seeking a political solution"..

The Indian Foreign Minister, Mr. Shiv Shankar said that President Jayawardene had earlier hinted that more 'concessions' could be forthcoming during negotiations and therefore he requested him to honour his word.

Unlike the ill-fated All Party Conference of 1984 in which political parties, religious bodies including the powerful Buddhist clergy, and other nondescript groups with vested interests and well known anti-Tamil views participated, only recognised political parties have been invited to the present PPC. They are: Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LLSP), Communist Party (CP), Sri Lanka Mahajana Party (SLMP), Ceylon Workers Congress (CWC), All Ceylon Tamil Congress (ACTC), Democratic Workers Congress (DWC), Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP), Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) and the ruling United National Party (UNP).

Besides the TULF, the SLFP led by the former Prime Minister, Mrs. Bandaranaike, and the MEP led by Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene boycotted the PPC on 25 June. It will be recalled that the SLFP boycotted the APC also in 1984. The SLFP's non-participation has come in for severe criticism from many quarters. It is accused of playing politics with the ethnic issue waiting on the sidelines to attack the ruling UNP of having sold out the Sinhalese majority to the Tamils and thus gain electoral advantage. Addressing a meeting at Dematagoda in Colombo on 27 June, Mrs. Bandaranaike said, "We are prepared to help solve the ethnic problem, but we will not allow the division of the country or let down the Sinhalese people.".

Another significant difference between the 1984 APC and the present PPC is that unlike on the last occasion, the government has placed its own proposals at the commencement of the Conference for other parties to consider.

At a press conference held on 26 June, President Jayawardene said that legislation to give effect to the gov-

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POLITICAL PARTIES CONFERENCE AND GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS

THE FIRST round of the Political Parties Conference (PPC) has already taken place without the participation of the Tamil United Liberation Front or any of the Tamil militant groups. The All Ceylon Tamil Congress and the Ceylon Workers Congress took part. As we go to press, we learn that the leaders of the TULF have arrived in Colombo to have discussions with Government leaders although they will not participate in the second round of discussions of the PPC.

The government proposals placed before the PPC have been worked out after discussions between the government of Sri Lanka and senior Indian Ministers and officials. During these prolonged discussions, the Indian negotiators would appear to have put in a great deal of effort to persuade Colombo to come up with substantial proposals which can form the basis for serious negotiations with a view to seeking a long term solution to the ethnic conflict. The Indian view seems to be that the proposals read together with the additional clarifications provided by Colombo, constitute a sufficient basis for negotiations to commence.

A considerable body of Tamil opinion is deeply suspicious of the motives and intentions of the Sri Lankan government. The Tamils doubt its sincerity of purpose. They doubt whether the government will in fact implement any of the proposals even if they are agreed to by the Tamil side. There is every justification for these misgivings.

To say that Tamil people have had a raw deal from this government and its predecessors is an understatement. Every agreement entered into between the Sinhala and Tamil leaderships before and since independence have been unilaterally breached by the Sinhala leaders and the Tamils have very often been betrayed.

Recent experience of the government's conduct does not induce much confidence either. Even as the ill-fated All Party Conference of 1984 was in progress, the government was busy inducting foreign mercenaries and Israeli intelligence personnel to train and equip its armed forces. It was also during the APC that the government introduced trained and armed Sinhala hooligan elements into Tamil areas to terrorise and drive away the Tamils from their homes and farms. Again the government undertook a programme of massive militarisation during and after the Thimphu 'peace efforts' in 1985. The violence against civilian Tamils assumed genocidal proportions. Thousands of innocent non-combatant Tamils were killed or maimed by the security forces and the so-called Home Guards. Hundreds of villages, particularly in the eastern province, were destroyed. Farms and homes were set on fire. Tamil women were raped and their children abducted. Tamil areas were subjected to sustained naval and aerial bombardment as if they were enemy territory. Under the pretext of fighting 'terrorism', the government has virtually declared war against the entire Tamil people.

Given this backdrop of genocidal violence, no one can fault the Tamil people if they regard the latest governmental efforts as a ploy to gain time to further equip and strengthen itself for a military solution.

However, there is an increasing body of opinion within the government and the Sinhalese community which appears to have come to the conclusion that a total military victory is not possible. The latest fiasco of 'Operation Shortshrift', a military offensive to rid the northern Jaffna Peninsula of Tamil militants, has strengthened this growing group. The violence and counter-violence which, up to recently, had been limited to the confines of the northern and eastern provinces have spilled over into other parts of the country, including the capital Colombo, in the form of bomb explosions and the resulting damage and dislocation also have contributed to the realisation of the need for a political solution. The country is on the verge of bankruptcy under the weight of increasing defence expenditure needed for the 'war against the Tamils'. All the countries on which Sri Lanka depends for its aid have made it a condition that Colombo should seek a political solution. More importantly, despite the hysterical anti-Indian habitual rhetoric by Sri Lankan politicians, they have come to realise that a complete military subjugation of the Tamils is not a course that India will accept in total silence.

The government's economic and development programmes are in shambles. Increasing economic burdens are being placed on the mass of people. As the mutual slaughter of civilians in the Tamil areas is escalating, movements demanding peace and an end to the 'war' are gathering momentum. The arrest of several hundred Sinhalese political and human rights activists on the pretext that they are collaborating with 'separatists' has also led to an undercurrent of opposition to the government.

Hence it will be seen that there is a multitude of reasons for the Sri Lankan government's recent moves towards seeking a solution to the ethnic conflict.

As far as the Tamils are concerned, their leaders including those of the Tamil militant groups have always contended that they too are ready for a political solution so long as it meets the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil people. That India has a crucial role to play in the pursuit and achievement of such a solution cannot be disputed in the present context. India would appear to regard the proposals presently before the PPC together with the clarifications provided by the Sri Lankan government are worthy of serious consideration. That these proposals do constitute an advance from any earlier proposals put forward by the government is also true. But, that they fall short of the legitimate expectations of the Tamil people is also not in doubt.

The Tamil militant groups have already expressed their disatisfaction for the reason that these proposals do not take account of the four-point charter they presented during the Thimphu 'peace process'. Any negotiations for a political solution will lack credibility and acceptance if participation by the Tamil militant groups is not ensured. It is absurd for President Jayawardene to threaten that, with or without the agreement of the Tamil groups, he will go ahead with enacting legislation to give effect to the proposals.

However, it is absolutely essential that the Tamil groups do not present an image that they are intransigent and hostile to any negotiating process. Such a response will undoubtedly damage the Tamil cause enormously in the eyes of the international community. The Tamil people have a just and strong case. And that case must be put across without hesitation or equivocation before any forum. The Tamil militant groups and the TULF must forge a united stand in presenting that case.

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BISHOP CALLS FOR HALT TO 'ANNIHILATION OF TAMILS'

RT. REV. DR. B. DEOGUPILLAI, Bishop of Jaffna was the chief guest at St. Patrick's College Prize-giving on 19th June: Excerpts from his address:

Bomb-blasts, rocket-blasts, shell-blasts, machine-gun fire etc. have become everyday occurrences for us. We are being attacked from the land, from the sea and even from the air. Hundreds of peaceful, unarmed Tamil civilians have been killed or wounded during such attacks, carried out during the past few months by the Government Forces in places like Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vavuniya, Mannar, Mullaitivu, Kilinochchi, Valvettiturai, Jaffna, Kayts, Mandaitivu.

Many peaceful Tamil civilians have been brutally massacred by the Armed Forces in Murunkan, Cheddikulam, Iruthayapuram, Akkaraipattu, Kurikadduvan, Mandaitivu, and other places. Thousands of peaceful Tamil civilians, who have been forced to flee from their traditional homes due to the activities of the Armed Forces, are not being properly cared for by the Government. Fishing, the only livelihood of thousands of peaceful Tamil civilians, has been totally banned in the Northern Eastern seas. All these clearly show that under the pretext of fighting the "Marxist Tamil terrorists" the Government is intent on the annihilation of the Tamils living in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

The Citizens' Committees of the Northern and Eastern Provinces have appealed several times to the President of Sri Lanka against these inhuman measures taken against peaceful defenceless people but with no effect. Since the peaceful Tamil civilians of the Northern and Eastern Provinces have no effective means at their disposal to defend themselves against the unjust attack on their lives and properties, the time has come, I feel, for us to raise our voice and make an appeal to the United Nations Organisation to take effective steps to halt the annihilation of the peaceful, defenceless Tamil civilians of the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

THE MANDAITIVU MASSACRE

THE Sri Lanka Broadcasting corporation, in its 6 p.m. news bulletin on 11th June, reported that 22 passengers were killed and 40 injured in Trincomalee the same morning when bombs planted by Tamil militants in two buses, one bound for Colombo and the other for Kantalai, exploded shortly after the vehicles left the bus stand.

Rupavahini gave the figures as 15 killed and 43 injured, while All India Radio said as many as 70 were killed and about 50 injured.

The injured were ferried to Colombo hospitals by Air Force helicopters.

Most of the victims were believed to be Sinhalese.

All roads out of Trimcomalee were immediately sealed off by the Security Forces and night curfew reimposed as a massive search operation was launched.

However, the state media was not as prompt in reporting the killings off Mandaitivu island two days previously.

The foreign media, usually more prompt in reporting events in Sri Lanka, also "missed" this story, probably because of this complete breakdown in telecommunications between Jaffna and the outside world for over two weeks.

The small fishing village of Gurunagar, in Jaffna, was converted into one vast funeral house on Tuesday, 10th May, after the bodies of the 30 people killed by the Security Forces off Mandaitivu island earlier in the day were brought ashore.

Tension ran high throughout Jaffna as the news of the brutal, senseless killings – reminiscent of the gory incident at Kurikadduvan in May 1985 – spread like wildfire.

Vast crowds converged at the Gurunagar Community Centre, where the bodies were kept until funeral arrangements were made.

The dead were in their usual fishing kit – amudes (in Sinhala), kovanam (in Tamil) and loin cloth (in English).

According to the official version of the incident in Jaffna, a Navy boat carrying supplies to the Army camp on Mandaitivu, one of the small one dozen islands off the Jaffna mainland was fired at by people in two boats.

The Navy men returned the fire. Putt. Putt.

All of them were not fishermen, according to the official version. Among them were some 'Tamil Marxist Terrorists' as well, who were posing as fishermen.

In fact, four of them were said to have been captured and they had spilled the beans.

This surely must have been the version put out by the authorities in Colombo, to be lapped up by most of the readers and listeners of the Colombo-based polluted media. (We had no way of making an independent check because the telephone lines between Colombo and Jaffna have been out of order for more than a week).

According to the version given by the sole survivor of the massacre, Simeon Mariadas, at the magisterial inquiry, about 8.30 a.m. on 10th May, he and 34 others had set out early morning to do coastal fishing between Mandaitivu and Allaipiddy areas.

They were knee-deep in water and casting their nets when about 8.30 a.m. he saw black-clad persons coming towards them in plastic boats.

He said all of them were ordered to come up. "We raised our hands and waded towards the boats. As we went near, we were cut, hacked and finally shot. I somehow managed to escape".

Jaffna mourned the deaths of the 30 people by observing a Hartal on 11th June.

The ages of the persons killed ranged from 12 to 70 years.

Six of them were from one family, four came from another family.

The acting Magistrate of Jaffna, Mr. K.P.S. Varatharajah held the inquests. The District Judge of Jaffna, Mr. Jegasothy was present.

The gory scene at the Community Centre was featured on local television by 6.30 p.m. on the day of the tragedy in bloody colour.

The Editor of the Saturday Review was also "privileged" to see the mangled bodies. It was, however, not a rare sight in these parts.

A concelebrated mass was said at which the Bishop of Jaffna, Rt. Rev. Dr. Deogupillai was present and imparted the last blessings, at St. James Church, Gurunagar, Jaffna at 1.00 p.m. and the bodies buried at St. Mary's Cemetery.

(Courtesy of "Saturday Review", 14.6.86)

Army kills another priest

FOR the third time, a Christian clergyman has been killed in Jaffna by the Security Forces.

The first to be shot and killed was Rev. George Jeyarajasingam, a Methodist Minister, on 13 December 1984, by the Sir Lankan security forces.

The second to be gunned down was Fr. Mary Bastian, the Parish Priest of Vankalai. That was on 6th January 1985.

Official spokesmen offered various explanations for the deaths, none of which fitted with the facts. One was that the "terrorists" were responsible for it.

Now we find the same explanation trotted out over the death of Brother M. Wenceslaus of the Tholagatty Monastery, Jaffna on 20th June.

It was a case of cold-blooded murder by the security forces.

Here are excerpts from the evidence given at the inquest held by Mr. Kathiravetpillai on 24th June.

Fr. Mary Joseph, a Member of the Tholagatty Ashram:

On the day of the incident, an Army Unit came to the farm and began firing at random. We hid ourselves in a room. The soldiers broke open the door and came in. They ordered us to kneel down and put our hands up. We did as ordered and explained our position in English. They left. After the soldiers left, we found Bro. Wenceslaus' body lying in a pool of blood in a cattle shed.

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ETHNIC CONFLICT IN SRI LANKA

Government Proposals For Settlement

THE DRAFT proposals for the settlement of the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka were placed before the Political Parties Conference held on 25th June 1986. The Government does not contemplate or envisage any proposal that may require approval at a referendum. The President has categorically stated that if the Supreme Court determines that any of its present proposals required the approval at a referendum, then such proposals will be dropped. This self-imposed constraint has prevented the Government from examining or bringing forward proposals that are demanded by the objective needs arising from the conflict.

The proposals have to be examined within the framework of the following principles set out by the Government:

i) maintenance of the unity, integrity and sovereignty of Sri Lanka;

ii) the maintenance of the unitary character of the Sri Lanka Constitution;

iii) the principle of devolution of powers upon the Provincial Councils within the framework of the Constitution of Sri Lanka as proposed to be amended.

If the main aim is to preserve national unity and integrity, the question that immediately arises is: should any proposals for the settlement of the conflict be constrained by the aforesaid second and third principles? There is an underlying misconceived assumption that the unity and integrity of Sri Lanka can only be maintained under a unitary form of government.

Besides the fact that there are several countries in the world, USA, USSR, Canada, Switzerland, India etc., which have preserved and indeed fostered and promoted national unity and integrity under non-unitary forms of government, the tragic experience of Sri Lanka since independence is that the very unitary character of the constitution which this government is committed to continue with has brought about national disintegration and an imminent threat to territorial integrity confirming what the late Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike said in 1926: "There would be trouble if a centralised form of government was introduced into countries with large communal differences. In a Federal Government, each federal unit had complete power over itself. Yet they unite and have one or two assemblies to discuss matters affecting the whole country".

The devolution of powers sought to be affected by amendments to the present Constitution smacks more of decentralisation of some of the functions of the central government. The two concepts have fundamental differences. The present conflict is a reflection of the failure or refusal to share power as between the different people, as between the distinct nationalities who inhabit the country. It is not a conflict resulting from an excessive centralisation of power, although that may have exacerbated it. The Tamils have already raised the demand for their right to self-determination and that they be recognised as a distinct nationality. Then there is also the assertion that the Muslims constitute a distinct national identity. Any real devolution of power should seek to satisfy the legitimate claims of the different nationalities that comprise the 'Sri Lankan nation'.

Systems of Government

Besides the central government, the proposals provide for the establishment of a Provincial Council in each of the nine provinces, and below them Municipal and Urban Councils in urban areas and Pradeshiya Sabhas at village level. Parliament has the power to alter the boundaries of the area of authority of a Provincial Council.

The Constitution will be amended by 2/3 majority to enable the creation of Provincial Councils and devolution of powers upon them. Thereafter, Parliament will pass an Act directly conferring on the Provincial Councils the requisite legislative powers. Such powers may be revoked or altered in any manner by an Act of Parliament passed by 2/3 majority after consultation with the Provincial Council concerned.

It is apparent that the proposals do not concede the demand for a merger of the northern and eastern provinces. However, as measure of accommodation, the government is prepared to consider the following:

i) Suitable institutional arrangements to provide for the Provincial Councils in the Island, especially in the Northern Province and the Eastern Province, to consult with each other and act in co-ordination on matters of mutual interest and concern.

ii) Suitable legal and institutional arrangements to ensure that the ethnic groups in each Province participate in the Government of the Province.

iii) Establishment of units to give to the ethnic groups a large measure of local self-government under the control of the Provincial Government such as:

a) Community oriented AGA Division.

b) Pradeshiya Sabhas in the AGA Divisions.

c) Any other unit of local self-Government.

Under the proposals, the Provincial Councils shall be deemed to be constituted in the northern and eastern provinces immediately after the constitutional amendments come into force. In regard to the other provinces, the existing District Councils may at any time opt to constitute a Provincial Council.

Given the remarkable capacity of both the mainstream Sinhala political parties, the UNP and the SLFP, to raise chauvinist issues with a view to gaining electoral advantage, and taking account of the fact that these parties have been able to manage in the past to obtain massive majorities, sometimes over 2/3, in parliament primarily by adopting pro-Sinhala positions, the power conferred on parliament to alter provincial boundaries by a mere simple majority vote, and to alter or revoke the powers devolved on Provincial Councils by a 2/3 majority vote would appear to contain the seeds of further conflict in the future. The fact that parliament will always have an inbuilt permanent ethnic Sinhala majority would make it possible for whatever powers that are proposed to be devolved presently to be revoked or altered at any time in the future. For instance, the SLFP has already expressed its opposition to the present proposals. If it were to obtain a 2/3 majority at the next elections, it will be open to the SLFP to alter or revoke any or all of the powers devolved on the Provincial Councils.

Therefore, it seems absolutely essential that the Provincial Council must possess some veto power over any attempt at territorial mutilation by boundary manipulation or any effort to whittle down its devolved powers.

Devolved Powers

The proposals provide for the devolution of powers in regard to the following matters:

(1) Internal Law and Order;

(2) Land Settlement within the Province;

(3) Agriculture and Industry; and

(4) Education and Culture.

It is stated that this list of subjects and functions is not exhaustive and additional subjects will be finalised later. Subject to the proposals specifically provided in regard to law and order and land settlement, it is also envisaged to devolve powers and functions contained in List II (State List) and List III (Concurrent List) of the Seventh Schedule of the Indian Constitution. These are powers and functions vested upon the various states comprising the Indian Union and they are fairly substantial and wideranging.

Internal Law and Order

The subjects of national defence, national security and the use of armed forces and any other forces under the control of the Sri Lankan government are specifically excluded from the competence of Provincial Councils.

The Police Force shall function under the overall control of the Inspector General of Police (IGP) and consist of (a) the National Division (including Special Units) and (b) a Provincial Division for each Province.

The National Division (ND) shall consist of the IGP, DIGs, SSPs, ASPs and other ranks recruited at national level. Recruitment to the ND and promotion of police officers from the Provincial Divisions (PD) to the ND shall be made by a National Police Commission (NPC) composed of the IGP, a nominee of the President and a nominee of the Chief Justice. The NPC shall set standards for recruitment and promotions and be responsible for recruitment, promotion, transfer and disciplinary control of officers of the ND and also for hearing and determining appeal from officers seconded to the PDs.

The Provincial Division (PD) shall consist of the DIG, SSPs, SPs, ASPs and all seconded from the ND and Provincial ASPs, Chief Inspectors, Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors, Sergeants and Constables recruited in the Province. Recruitment to the PD within the Province shall be at the level of the ASP and below. Members of the PD are entitled to promotion to the ND. There shall be a Provincial Police Commission (PCC) composed of the DIG of the Province, a nominee of the President and a nominee of the Chief Minister of the Province. The PPC shall be responsible for transfers, promotions and disciplinary control of officers of the PD except the DIG. The IGP will appoint the DIG of a Province with the concurrence of the Chief Minister. Where there is disagreement between the IGP and the Chief Minister, the President will appoint the DIG of the Province. Recruitment to the PD shall be made by the PPC having regard to the standards and criteria prescribed by the NPC. The DIG shall be responsible to and be under the control of the Chief Minister in respect of the maintenance of public order in the Province. All police officers in the units of the ND and PD in any Province

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shall function under the direction and control of the DIG of that Province.

The central government shall be responsible for the training of all recruits to and members of all divisions of the police force. The salary scales and prequisites of office enjoyed by members of the PDS shall apply uniformly to all PDs.

The nature, type and quantity of firearms and ammunition and other equipment for the ND shall be determined by the NPC and for the PD by the NPC after consultation with the PPC.

Subject to the relevant powers of the Attorney General, the PDs shall be responsible for the prevention, detection and investigation of all offences, except those prescribed, within the Province.

All Gazetted officers of the ND and PDs are required to attain a prescribed standard in Sinhala and Tamil, and ASPs and above are required to attain a prescribed standard in English. All police officers are required to attain proficiency in a second and third language for their first and second promotions respectively. The recognised languages for this purpose are Sinhala, Tamil and English.

There is provision for direct Presidential intervention during times of officially proclaimed state of emergency or where the Province is threatened by grave disturbances setting at nought all devolved powers in regard to law and order.

When the President declares a state of emergency, he may assume all such powers and responsibilities of the Chief Executive and the Provincial Administration in respect of law and order. In a country where rule by emergency law has become a regular feature – the previous Prime Minister ruled the country for a continuous period of six years under a state of emergency, and under the present government, the country has been under emergency rule since 1982 – the granting of such powers to the President will probably result in the usurpation of the powers of the Chief Executive and the Provincial Administration being vested in the hands of the President and the central government for prolonged periods rendering devolution a mockery.

Even in the absence of an officially proclaimed state of emergency, if the President is of the opinion that the security or public order in a Province is threatened by grave internal disturbance, he may in consultation (not with consent or concurrence) with the Chief Minister by order deploy any unit of the National Division or the Armed Forces in the Province for the purpose of restoring order. Such a Presidential order shall be in force for a period of sixty days unless it is revoked earlier. In the absence of a definition of what 'grave internal disturbance' means, the exercise of this reserve power depends entirely on the subjective opinion of the President. There is no provision for a judicial challenge of the order of the President. In a country where emergency and executive powers have so often been abused, there is a danger that these reserve powers also can be abused.

Land Settlement

A National Land Commission (NLC) will be established and it will have power to formulate policy regarding the use of state land. The NLC will also be responsible for the formulation of policy regarding use of land covered by Inter-Provincial Irrigation and Land Development Projects. These policies will not be based on political or communal aspects but on technical aspects. The Provincial Councils will be bound to give due regard to the National policy formulated by the NLC in the exercise of the powers devolved upon them.

According to the government's proposals, land, that is to say, rights in or over land, land tenure, transfer and alienation of land and land improvement will devolve upon Provincial Councils. From this, one may be tempted to the conclusion that all land situated within a Province, except land in private ownership, will become vested in the Provincial Council and it shall be in control of transfer, alienation or improvement of such land. The proposals themselves provide exceptions to belie such a conclusion.

Lands required for the purpose of the Government in respect of subjects not devolved on Provincial Councils will be utilised without any restrictions by the Government. In respect of lands required by Provincial Councils for the purpose of subjects devolved on them, it will be obligatory for them to formulate schemes for the use of such land in accordance with relevant national policies. Any alienation or disposition of land under such schemes to any citizen or to any other organisation will be made by the President on the advice of the Provincial Councils. It is to be noted that the President is not bound to act on such advice.

The proposals provide that the settlement criteria for land settlement and irrigation schemes within the Provincial Councils be based on ethnic proportions within the Province.

Inter-Provincial Irrigation and Land Development Projects (eg. Mahaweli Development Project) will be the responsibility of the central government which shall also determine the principles and criteria regarding selection of allottees for lands covered by such projects. However, the actual application of these principles, selection of allottees and other incidental matters will fall within the powers of the Provincial Councils.

The government has already accepted the policy that as far as Inter-Provincial Projects are concerned, selection of allottees for settlement shall be on the basis of national ethnic proportions. It is on this basis that the government has worked out the Sinhalese, Tamil and Muslim entitlements in the Mahaweli Scheme. In this scheme, there is an estimated total of 101,483 allotments available. According to the government's accepted policy based on national ethnic ratio, the entitlements will be as follows:

Sinhalese: 75,504 allotments
Sri Lanka Tamils: 12,787 allotments
Muslims: 7,509 allotments
Indian Tamils: 5,683 allotments

However, it is now stated by the government that its policy, as far as those sections of the Mahaweli Scheme (Systems A, B and D) falling within the Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts are concerned, will be to maintain the ethnic proportions of those districts that prevailed at the time of National Census of 1981.

Agriculture

The formulation and implementation of national policy relating to the agricultural development of the whole Island will be a subject and function reserved by the Central Government.

This will include the determination of floor prices, subsidies, insurance premia and indemnities, the ensuring of inter District/Provincial co-ordination and achievement of national targets, the administration of the departmental farms, agricultural research, plant quarantine and the import and export of planting material.

The following powers shall be generally exercised by the Provincial Councils:

(1) The preparation and execution of a district agricultural plan ensuring co-ordination between different agencies in the Province/District, organisation of supplies and services and marketing of produce.

(2) Extension activities including nutritional programme.

(3) The exercise of most of the powers set out in the Agrarian Services Act including the supervision of Agrarian Services Committees, the issue of agro-identity cards and the preparation of Agricultural Lands Registers.

(4) The rehabilitation and maintenance of small-scale irrigation works.

(5) The implementation of the extension programme for minor crops, the regulation of private nurseries and the establishment of agro-linked industries.

Industry

The formulation and implementation of a national policy of industrial development would be a matter for the Central Government.

Subject to this, Provincial Councils would have the power to establish and promote industries within their own areas of authority.

The Central Government would in the interests of uniformity, planned development and proper utilisation of national resources, have the right to impose requirements as the registration of industries, submission of information and data, wage and pricing policies, environmental standards, quality, etc. Ministry appraisal of proposals for new industrial development would continue as at present, where investment involves loans.

It is not contemplated that existing State-owned industries would be transferred to the Provincial Councils.

In the scheme of devolution envisaged, substantial powers relating to cultural matters and education up to secondary level will be devolved on the Provincial Council. The powers will also include the right of the Provincial authorities to establish and manage private universities without State funds.

Detailed proposals on the extent of devolution of powers relating to education are being worked out and they may be discussed further. The National Education Policy will be non-discriminatory.

The promotion and conduct of cultural activities would be assigned to Provincial Councils. The Central Government will exercise supervisory control over the funds if any provided by it. The Provincial Councils will assist the Pradeshiya Sabhas in co-ordinating cultural activities within their respective areas.

The powers of the Provincial Councils would include the development of the arts, drama, music, dance, literature and assisting the observance of festivals.

Subjects Reserved by Government

The following subjects and functions are exclusively reserved by the central government:

National Policy on all subjects and functions, Defence, Internal Security, Law and Order and Prevention and Detection of Crime, subject to the extent that some of these powers will be devolved on Provincial Councils and District Councils, Foreign Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications, Justice in so far as it relates to the Judiciary and the Courts Structure, Finance in relation to National Revenue, Monetary Policy and External Resources, Foreign Trade, Ports and Harbours, Aviation and Airports, National Transport, Rivers and Waterways, Minerals and Mines, Broadcasting, Television, Immigration and Emigration and Citizenship, Customs, Elections – Presidential, Parliamentary, Intermediate and Grass Root Units, Shipping and

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M.P. ON UNMARKED CARS, ABDUCTIONS AND DISAPPEARANCES

The following are extracts from a speech made by Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, MP in the Sri Lankan parliament recently:

"NOW, SIR, I would like to get on to another matter. You might recollect, Sir, that last time I mentioned that there is divided security in this country and that it is not good to have divided security. Today we are having divided security. Now we have divided intelligence also. We know that there is an Intelligence Unit at Cambridge Place coming under the police. That is quite correct. There must be an Intelligence Unit there, and we support that. There is another Intelligence Unit at Longden Place. We do not know whose Intelligence Unit that is. This is duplication. I do not known what this is all about. This organisation carries on under a separate command. I do not know whether this has been set up with the concurrence of the IGP. I did not ask him. But definitely I know that there are two units because I saw a person who has come from Browns' Group heading that Intelligence Service in Longden Place, one Mr. Seneviratne. He is a former ASP, true, but he was at Browns. He has started a new Intelligence Service. Now you are going to have divided Intelligence Service.

"Then what happens? That Intelligence Service goes about in unmarked vehicles. That is there to hunt down political opponents. That is one of their jobs. They go about in non-government cars or sometimes have the Government emblem but are definitely not police. They must be Corporation cars. They all go and prowl about in the night. Then sometimes you find that people are being removed from workplaces. They are removed from homes. We do not know their whereabouts. This type of thing has taken place. I have a letter here, Sir, where it says that a person has been taken away and no one knows where he is. No one can approach the places where they are kept. Ultimately that man is lost. I would like the Hon. Minister of National Security to check on what is going on. Ultimately you will be on the wrong track. Sir, we must know from where the threat comes, and then deal with it. The threat is from one place, but we are dealing with people from the South. Please do not think that every Sinhala person is a JVPer. By all means take action if there are threats of that nature, but do not think that the SLFPers are that. We are not of that creed. We do not belong to them.

Separate security services

Sir, yesterday I saw two persons who were working in a housing scheme close to where I live. These two persons from the Intelligence Service had been put there to see where I am going and who comes to my house. I spotted these two persons. I wanted to trap them, but I did not want to do it because I knew they were there doing a job of work or probably they were looking after me. They were following me. I do not mind them following me. But what were they doing? They were working as workers where two houses were being put up just next to my house. This is the type of thing that is going on, Sir.

Then there is security for the President. He has a separate Intelligence Service. There is security for the Prime Minister. He has another Intelligence Service. Then there is security for the Minister of Fisheries. My goodness, you should see his security! The others are just nothing compared to that. He has a separate Intelligence Service. Then there is security for the Minister for Rural Industrial Development. The Deputy Minister's boss has also one which he does not know about. – (*Interruption*). Ah! you know. That is good. This is the thing, Sir. These are not security services. I can understand if these are security services. These are Intelligence Services carrying messages here and there and sending various people to spy on others. Sir, I do not mind having all this provided there is one security pool. Let them all be in one pool under the IGP and no one else.

Then, Sir, we have parallel bureaucracies. In this bureaucratic system we find empire building which has taken place. "'He is the Prime Minister's man." "He is the National Security Minister's man". "He is the President's man, this one's man and that one's man". Can you run a Government like this? There should be men under the Government. To tell you very frankly, this is what has happened to our country. The division is within the Government itself. You are divided. It is not a division between the SLFP and the UNP – (*Interruption*). You are imagining that. You do not know what is happening in the bureaucracy. If you give me two minutes, I will name certain people which I do not want to do. The fact is, you dare not move them out from that organisation. – (*Interruption*) – One person! You dare not move certain police officers who are in those two groups out. But anyway what I say is, they also become millionaires overnight. I have seen big bureaucrats in this country who have come without a single cent in 1977 of tarring their roads and becoming huge businessmen overnight. I am warning the Hon. Member for Kolonne. Very soon you will see the sale of your paper factory at Embilipitiya. And please stop that. They will keep the paper factory at Valachchenai and try to close the paper factory at Emblipitiya and sell the paper factory at Embilipitiya for a sum of Rs. 50 million or so. But I know that those people also would not buy. There is another party who is going to buy it. You please watch out. It is in your electorate. They are trying to rob your paper factory. A big amount of commission is expected out of it. The Government is getting a part of it only, and therefore ultimately what will happen is, there will be another close down of a factory in that area, because of that factor, they become millionaires overnight, and the best thing is this. Most of those people have green cards to enter America.

The other day – I think sometime ago – we proved to this House that even the Chairman of Air Lanka was not in this country when we had the Presidential Elections. He was in Bangkok, and he had phoned up Colombo to find out who was winning, and when he found that Mr. J.R. Jayawardene was winning he came into this country and went and saw His Excellency. If His Excellency had lost, he would never have come. By that time he had taken the green card. This is the type of bureaucracy that we have. Therefore, look at these people who are trying to bolt off, in case there is a change of Government. This is the type of thing that is happening.

Then you find a parallel army.

I want to talk about the parallel army. Now we know the army, navy, air force – they are conventional armed services. But now look at your Government. There is a separate army being created with the UNP. Where the home guards are concerned, there is going to be a separate unit altogether. They would not be non-political. You will have a non-political army and a political army if they come under one person. So, this will be another threat. One home guard army will be a threat to the conventional army or the known army. This is to happen, Sir. And then, Sir, what do they do? They pass information among each other. These are fears that one has, to see one army talk. This is a home guard. They talk out of their turn. They do not know whether they are

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DISAPPEARANCE OF "JOE"

Susil George "Joe" Seneviratne, 40, well known trade union activist, former teacher and National Organiser Movement for Inter-Racial Justice and Equality (MIRJE), was taken away from a bus on the 13th of April. Around 10.30 a.m., three unmarked cars surrounded a bus just outside Kochikade, forced it to stop, and men in plain clothes had taken Seneviratne away with them.

Seneviratne has been involved in progressive politics from his student days and a trade union activist and teacher at Carey College. He left Carey at the inception of MIRJE in order to fight racism and bring about ethnic harmony in the country. He was responsible for organising several important campaigns against various aspects of racial intolerance in Sri Lanka. These included: the well known inter-racial friendship festival in December 1980; the Campaign Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act, launched by MIRJE in 1980/82, where in various seminars he warned that the PTA could be used also against political opponents of the regime in the south; the campaign for the release of Nirmala Nithianandan and Committee for the Defence of the Gandhyam Movement during the crackdown against it and its founder, Dr. Rajasunderam, who was eventually murdered in prison.

Seneviratne was also a member of fact finding missions into the human rights situation in Jaffna, Batticaloa and Vavuniya, while in MIRJE. He also edited *Yulethiya,* the MIRJE paper and several other trade union papers. He was widely known in political parties and trade union circles since he co-ordinated most MIRJE work.

He was also the Secretary of the Workers' and Peasants' Institute in Kandy. In 1982 he spent several months at the Tricontinental Centre, Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium, under the well known sociologist Rev. Fr. Francoise Houtart.

With the onset of middle age, he developed a cataract in one eye, varicose veins and phlegm in his lungs. His friends knew him as a profound humanist.

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REPRESSION IN SOUTH SRI LANKA

THERE were only 450 political prisoners in the Philippines when the dictator Marcos fled the country. Today in Sri Lanka there are 280 political prisoners in the south, not to mention thousands more in the north and east of the country.

Characteristics of the new repression:

● *The phenomenon of the disappeared, like in the Philippines and Latin America.*

● *Attempts to deceive family and friends of those who disappear. Done to prevent them and their lawyers from acting.*

● *Detention in private places – as in the Philippines.*

● *Intermeshing of the machinery of the UNP and the National Intelligence Bureau.*

● *The use of unmarked vehicles at night. Also, the use of government and NGO vehicles, or of vehicles with names of government boards and departments.*

● *In these matters, the NIB acts autonomously of the local police. Even senior ordinary police offiicals are unaware of what the NIB is doing. The chain of command is different.*

● *The repression is co-ordinated and carried out by the NIB Special Operations Unit (SOU) at Longden Place. It does not investigate "northern terrorism". The sole function of this unit is to hunt down left activists in the south. The unit is headed by ASP Upali Seneviratne, formerly the head of the Browns Group Security division, recalled on a special contract to the NIB. Also in the unit are Inspectors Mohan Jayasuriya, Brian Amunugama and Terrence Perera.*

● *Their activities are supervised by Mossad/ Shin Beth, who trained them in the first place. There are more than a hundred Israelis in Sri Lanka. Many are here on non-Israeli passports, attached to various government ministries and departments as "experts".*

Examples of disappearance:

● **Wimalasena,** *formerly of the JVP, from Ihala Kosgama. Disappeared without a trace on December 19th, 1985 between Slave Island and Maharagama. His wife Dhammika went from hospital to hospital looking for him. It was mid-January before his wife finally got confirmation that he was in custody. He was being held in a private house in Colombo.*

● **Caldera,** *a travelling salesman, formerly of the JVP, from Kaduwela. He was awakened at ten thirty in the night by two men who shone a powerful torch in his face. He was blindfolded and taken to the NIB headquarters in a jeep. He was interrogated at Longden Place and later taken to Avissawela and held captive in an estate superintendent's bungalow adjacent to property of Avissawela MP Premaratne. While in custody he was forced to write a letter to his wife saying he was safe and well and that the deliverer of the letter was a friend.*

● **Dhanapala Kaluarachchi,** *self-employed motor mechanic, from Talduwa, Avissawela. Member of CPSL, district organiser, Office bearer, Co-operative Society and President, Maranadaara Sangamaya, Talduwa. Founder of Janakala Arts Circle. Winner of several trophies for cycling and Tour de Lanka participant. Prominent social worker who saved the life and property of many innocent Tamils in July 1983.*

After the disappearance of Wimalasena, a friend of his, and in view of the fact that he had been threatened both by the Avissawela police and by henchmen of the ruling party MP, Dhanapala stopped staying at his home and repair shop. An NIB team headed by a tall fair man called Upali then permanently stationed themselves in the area in order to abduct him. They operated from the residence of the MP. This team was later increased to 30, divided into five units operating semi-autonomously of one another, under the command of Terrence Perera (the man who killed Podi Wije). They used unmarked vehicles (Datsun Pickups, Peugeots) and private and CTB buses. These were parked at Premaratne's compound and at the aforementioned estate superintendent's. They were dressed in civvies, carried weapons and even deployed dogs. Dhanapala came to Colombo on the 18th February to meet a friend and was abducted somewhere near the Town Hall. On the 22nd, 23rd and 24th he was taken to his home and adjacent areas chained on to a motor bicycle with an armed NIB agent on the pillion. On the 26th he was forced to telephone his wife and engage in a conversation with her, pretending that he was all right. This was repeated on the 1st of March. He was also coerced into writing to his wife a letter to the same effect. All this was to prevent his wife from filing a habeas corpus application. Dhanapala has four children, aged from 7 to 13, and his feeble and ailing parents were dependent on him.

● **Sanath Gamini,** *a tourist driver, employed at Gulf Lanka Travels. He was abducted from his boarding at Katubedde at 10.00 a.m. on the 22nd of February by persons who told the neighbours they were his friends. The NIB bundled him into a van and took off. Nothing has been heard of him since.*

● **Dayananda,** *former railway employee, who participated in the railway strike of 1976 and early 1978. He was dismissed by the UNP and later set up a retail store at Nugegoda, near the railway station.*

On the 24th February, around 2.00 p.m., Dhanapala was brought to his store on a motorbike with an NIB pillion rider. NIB men were in vehicles stationed in the vicinity. Dhanapala did not dismount but nodded to Dayananda and said something before riding away. Dayananda stepped out of the store, told his employee he was going to the post office to make a phone call. He has not been seen since.

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coming or going on security. They are not trained properly. They are half trained. They do not know how to shoot properly. They close the wrong eye when they have to shoot. Instead of closing the left eye they close the right eye, and they shoot cockeyed everywhere! Therefore, I would be very grateful to you if you did not have these divided armies. Do not have these separate armies. – (*Interruption*) – I know those armies are being used to pass information from one VIP to the other. It is real kēlam mulla (tale carrying) sort of business that goes on among two VIPs and the kukkul poraya (cockfight) that normally goes on in the Government is that. These people come and give you wrong information. They spy on other people. They come and carry tales to the other crowd. This is what is going on, to tell you frankly. That is why you cannot govern properly. But, anyway, I am telling you, this is happening, and they pass information to each other and, therefore, it is a haven for some politicians in power. It has become a haven ultimately for some businessmen in power, and then with these corrupt racketeers that you are talking; this is what is happening."

ABDUCTION OF MANIKKALINGAM

RAMANUJAM MANIKKALINGAM, son of a former career Sri Lankan diplomat, disappeared from his Killupitiya home on the week he turned 23. Nearly a month after he vanished, the Ministry of National Security has admitted to having him under arrest. Apparently, his disappearance between the 27th of March and 19th April – the day he was ostensibly captured – was voluntary: – or so the Ministry would have us believe. However, a few things do not square up.

On the 10th of April the Ministry of National Security issued a press release saying they knew nothing about his whereabouts. Strangely enough, the very next day Mr. Merryk Guneratne, DIG National Intelligence Bureau, told his parents that they had in custody someone who corresponded to his general description but was under a pseudonym. At this meeting his mother did not disclose that she had heard two days previously that her son was actually in custody – and had given his own name. This information was given to a friend of the Manikkalingam family by Mr. Ariya Abeysinghe, civil servant and friend of DIG Tyrrel Gunatilleke.

Mrs Manikkalingam was very disturbed by insinuations in the press that her son could have been a separatist since he had never expressed such sentiment. He had a brilliant record at Royal College, getting 8 distinctions at his O levels and 4 A's at his A levels. He went from there to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and did a physics degree. He was also a good sportsman.

From the 11th of April till the 22nd the Manikkalingam family was in constant touch with Minister Athulathmudali, who every day led them to believe that they would be given a chance to see this person who resembled their son very soon. The subsequent press release from the Ministry took them by surprise.

Fortunately for him, a lot of international interest was expressed on his behalf – and this is what must have propelled the Ministry to finally acknowledge that they'd got him. There is one very easy way for the Ministry to establish the truth of their story – to prove beyond doubt that he was actually arrested on a bus. However, given the mass of lies the Ministry and associated organisations have spun about him it is unlikely that he will be allowed to appear in public and refute them, let alone face charges for the crimes he has allegedly committed.

There is very good reason to believe that he was abducted in Colombo on the 27th of March. By refusing to acknowledge this, the Ministry is only reiterating its determination to copy other Latin American banana republics which have no respect for human rights.

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TAMIL ISSUE RAISED IN AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT

"BOMBING OF TAMIL AREAS IN SRI LANKA REMINISCENT OF U.S. BOMBINGS IN VIETNAM"

"As we sit here in Australia now, the Sri Lankan regime is conducting an intensive bombing campaign in the Jaffna Peninsula, reminiscent of that United States bombing campaign against Vietnam", stated Mr. Hollis, Member of Parliament, in the Australian House of Representatives on 22 May, 1986.

Mr. Hollis has been subjected to a persistent campaign of abuse, intimidation and harassment by some extremist Sinhala elements resident in Australia for his consistent and outspoken stand on the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The following are extracts from his speech:

MR. HOLLIS *(Throsby)* – Overseas coverage by Australian media over the past few days has, not surprisingly I suppose, been concerned with South Africa's illegal and totally unjustified attack on three neighbouring states. But the past few days have seen a further stepping up of the genocide being committed by the Sinhala Government of President Jayawardene in Sri Lanka against the Tamil minority, as the Government of Sri Lanka attempts a military solution to a communal problem in Sri Lanka. Like many Australians I am distressed and disturbed that Sri Lankan armed forces have commenced large scale military operations in the Jaffna Peninsula, including indiscriminate aerial bombing and strafing of Jaffna City itself, resulting in a large number of civilians being killed and hundreds wounded. Two wards of the Jaffna hospital were hit and I expect casualties there to be very high. As late as last night the coastal town of Valvettithurai was subject to naval and aerial bombardment. Again, I expect casualties will be high. I am awaiting further details of that. Such continued military operations will inevitably lead to a loss of still larger numbers of innocent civilian lives and only prolong the suffering of the people of Sri Lanka.

"How can this massive use of force by the Government of Sri Lanka be justified, especially at a time when Sri Lankan leaders have repeatedly professed their commitment to seeking a peaceful, political solution to the ethnic issue?

"It is particularly deplorable that such operations should have been undertaken at a time when the governments of India and Sri Lanka were engaged in discussions to find a peaceful, political solution to the problem. Such operations frustrate the process of negotiations . . .

"It really follows a pattern of hints over the past months from the President that a military solution would be sought. He is attempting to gain world sympathy for his disastrous policies by blaming these bombing outrages on the Tamils and thus justifying this latest exercise by the President have been more and more extreme and emotive. While threatening military solutions, he talks about the Tamils' attempts to install communist dictatorship – again in an attempt to gain international sympathy, especially, I suspect, United States sympathy.

"The President and his Government have refused to listen to wise counsel, especially from India, which has been attempting to mediate between the Government and the Tamils and find some lasting solution. But the present Government appears not to want a solution and especially not a peaceful solution. Attacks on Tamils have been a daily occurrence for many years but these have intensified since the July–August 1983 genocidal attacks. There is daily harassment by the Sinhalese security forces and thugs – rape, murder, arson and killings are a daily occurrence. Over 10,000 innocent Tamils have been killed by the armed forces – forces that were often out of control. Over 200,000 refugees have fled the country. Tamils are now living in countries throughout the world. We must never lose sight of what President Jayawardene meant when he declared that there will only be a military solution to the problems of Sri Lanka. What he means is a complete annihilation of the Tamil people on the island of Sri Lanka.

"The facts are well documented by such bodies as Amnesty International, Law Asia, the International Commission of Jurists and many others. What, I asked in this chamber, can we do? I suggest that time is long past when pious statements can be accepted as enough; and we cannot just wring our hands about it. I appeal to the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Hayden) to raise the genocide of the Tamils at the United Nations Security Council. We should be asking the United Nations to send an international fact-finding mission to Sri Lanka to establish the facts. The Australian Government must be putting pressure on Sri Lanka to stop the genocide. We must support the valiant efforts of India to bring a lasting peace to this troubled land.

"I remind members of this House that as we sit here in Australia now, the Sri Lankan regime is conducting an intensive bombing campaign on the Jaffna Peninsula, reminiscent of that United States bombing campaign against Vietnam. We cannot leave India alone to do the negotiation for a peaceful solution. We must express our solidarity with the Indian efforts. Express our concern and disgust to the Jayawardene Government, and raise the matter in the United Nations. At this stage it should be of concern to Australians that the only thanks India has received for a valiant attempt at negotiations are unwarranted and baseless statements of the Sri Lankan leadership appearing in the Press critical of the Prime Minister of India.

"It is my view, and also the view of many informed observers, that there can be no military solution to the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka. The current military operations undertaken by the Sri Lankan armed forces will only lead to further worsening of the situation and add to the suffering of the people of Sri Lanka. It is my earnest hope that, rather than take a recourse to the use of force and bloodshed against a significant section of its own people, the Government of Sri Lanka would do well to seek a resolution of the ethnic issue through a process of dialogue and meaningful pragmatic measures to meet the situation and resolve the problem.

"Since my last speech on the Tamil issue, I have been approached by the Sri Lankan High Commissioner, I have received a number of abusive telephone calls – which I always get; I will probably get more this afternoon – and now a telegram campaign is being directed against me. Many of the letters and telegrams come anonymously. They are claiming that I am supporting Marxist terrorists. People who know me here in this Chamber will appreciate that this is absolute rubbish. What I am opposed to are the disastrous actions of the present Sri Lankan Government. I am opposed to

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PETITION BEFORE PARLIAMENT

The following is the text of a resolution lodged for presentation in the Australian House of Representatives (Hansard: 20.3.86):

Tamils in Sri Lanka

To the Honourable the Speaker and Members of the House of Representatives in Parliament assembled.

We the undersigned are deeply concerned that under the guise of ceasefire the Government of Sri Lanka has largely militarised Tamil regions and has now resorted to airship attacks in highly populated areas and indiscriminate killings of civilians which is seen even by the Indian Foreign Minister as having genocidal tendencies.

Your petitioners humbly pray that the House of Representatives in Parliament assembled will call upon the Government to:

1. Intercede with the Government of Sri Lanka to desist from airship attacks and seeking a military solution;
2. To offer refuge under humanitarian and compassionate programmes, to Tamils who are fleeing from the violence.
3. Abandon all direct and indirect forms of repatriation of any Tamil who has sought refuge in Australia and grant them meaningful assistance to resettle;
4. As a member of the Commonwealth, persuade the Government of Sri Lanka to pursue a political solution which will allow the Tamils to live in peace and dignity.

Your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray.

Mrs Darling, Mr Grace, Mr Hollis, Mr Kent, Mr Ruddock, Mr Staples, Mr Baldwin, Mr Hurford, Mr Mather, Mr Price, Mr Darling and Mr Scott.

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TAMIL ISSUE RAISED IN AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT

'SRI LANKA – A SLAUGHTERHOUSE OF INNOCENT TAMILS'

The following is the text of a speech by Mr Kent, MP, in the Australian House of Representatives on 11 March 1986:

MR. KENT *(Hotham)* – Tonight, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the persecution of the Tamils in Sri Lanka. I have spoken before about that once peaceful island called Ceylon. **That island, so well known for its serenity, is now turned into a bloody slaughterhouse of innocent Tamils, who represent a sizeable ethnic minority.** Since the Jayawardene Government orchestrated the 1983 racial riots, violence against the Tamils has never ceased. As a matter of fact it is becoming worse as time goes on and has culminated in the use of helicopter gunships against the civilian population in Jaffna. One wonders how much of Australian aid is directed into military purchases and into the acquisition of weapons with which the security forces kill and maim innocent men, women and children, whose only crime is that they are born Tamils.

The Jayawardene Government in Sri Lanka is spending this year nearly 6,000 million rupees on its defence budget. Yet Sri Lanka is not under threat by any external power whatsoever. The weapons that the Government purchases are not used against an enemy, but are used to massacre Tamils. They are used for a 'Final solution' of the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. The arms are used for genocide of the Tamils. The state rethoric of 'flushing out' and 'mopping up terrorists' are euphemisms for the cold-blooded state murder of civilians.

According to the Sri Lankan Finance Minister the state's revenue is 'insufficient to meet current expenditure' and 'almost all our capital expenditure has to be met by foreign aid and loans'. Yet the Government seems to have plenty of money to buy helicopter gunships and pay mercenaries to fly them and use the same to bomb Tamil populated areas. The Sri Lankan Government is running a 30 billion rupee budget deficit to finance the genocide and is trying to plug the holes with the foreign aid, including the Australian aid given to Sri Lanka. To satisfy its racial hatred, the Government is bankrupting the state, yet its military action against the Tamils and the gross violation of their human rights has achieved so far only the radicalisation of the Tamil youth who are refusing to be led to slaughter.

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the impact that they will have on the Tamil minority. What I am working for, as are many other members in this Chamber, is a peaceful solution – not a military solution but a political solution to this problem, so that the island of Sri Lanka can return to its normal happy state and so that – as is everyone's right – the Tamils there can live in dignity and peace in their homeland. I will continue to pursue that cause in this Parliament and I will continue to speak out for the Tamil cause." *(From Hansard, pages 3743 and 3744, 22 May 1986)*

As I said before, the State organised terrorism against the innocent Tamil civilians did not cease after the 1983 racial riots. Our Foreign Minister (Mr Hayden) has expressed his concern about the racial violence in Sri Lanka. However, our aid, which enables the regime to finance its genocide against the Tamils, continues.

I call on our Government to suspend immediately bilateral aid to the Jayawardene Government and channel the money through non-government organisations to Tamil areas to help those people who are in need and dispossessed because of the Government's action. The leader of the Opposition (Mr Howard), not long ago compared the Sri Lankan regime with that of South Africa. I go a step further and I compare the plight of the Tamils in Sri Lanka today with the plight of Jews under Hitler. The genocide against Jews succeeded because the rest of the world was silent. Do not let us assist the killing of fellow human beings in Sri Lanka by our silence and our inaction. As I have said before in this House, do not let us be associated with genocide by not speaking up, by not doing something while there is still time. I quote again Pastor Nimoller, who said:

First they came for the Jews and I did not speak out – because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for the communists and I did not speak out – because I was not a communist.

Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak out – because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Catholics and I did not speak out – because I was not a Catholic.

Then they came for me and there was none left to speak out for me.

Let us use all the influence that Australia has in international forums to stop the genocide against Tamils in Sri Lanka. Let us take the first step by redirecting our aid from the Jayawardene Government to the long-suffering Tamil areas.

(From Hansard, pages 1108 and 1109, 11 March 1986)

LANKAN AMBASSADOR FLAYED

This is an extract from proceedings in the Australian House of Representatives on 23 May 1986:

MR. HOLLIS *(Throsby;)* – It seems that this is the week for leaks! Today I received into my hand a letter sent from the office of the High Commissioner for Sri Lanka to Sinhalese in Australia. That letter, on headed paper and signed by the Commissioner, gives Sinhalese in Australia the correct line to follow in response to recent events in Sri Lanka. However, the letter ends up by saying that the matters are best left to the judgment of the recipients of the letter and to the resources that they can harness. Let us look at the suggestions made by this diplomat accredited to Australia. He suggests writing letters giving facts of incidents, together with paper cuttings to members of Parliament, especially to members who have been anti-Sri Lanka on this issue – for example, the honourable member for Hotham (Mr. Kent), Senator Chipp, myself and others. As a member of Parliament, I do not object to this. We get many such letters. I make the point that I am not anti-Sri Lanka. What I am anti about are the genocidal policies culminating in the military action now taking place by the current Jayawardene Government. The letter goes on to say:

Give facts about the battle being waged between the rival terrorist groups.

A lot of corroborative propaganda was enclosed for this purpose. He goes on to say:

Write letters and send material to church organisations; Uniting Church, human rights and Amnesty International bodies in Australia, who have been one-sided on this issue.

What he does not say, of course, is that these people have not swallowed the lies put out by the Sri Lankan High Commissioner in Canberra. He says:

Write letters and send materials to editors of major newspapers and radio and TV stations and also, if possible, give interviews which they can carry.

The one I really find unacceptable is the following, which I quote in full because it is very important. The letter from the High Commissioner for Sri Lanka said:

Arrange for demonstrations if possible in front of Indian trade/consular offices and in front of Indian Airlines/Air India offices with appropriate placards and slogans.

I find it totally unacceptable that a diplomat in this country should use or abuse his position to incite Australian citizens – many of the Sinhalese in this country are naturalised Australian citizens – to get involved in activities against a friendly nation, that is, India, in an attempt to disrupt the activities of its official organisations, thus causing unwarranted problems in the relationship between Australia and India and embarrassment to Australia.

The current High Commissioner for Sri Lanka has recently taken up his post, but one should bear in mind that this gentleman, prior to his appointment, was Secretary of the Ministry established to produce and propagate incorrect information and blatant lies to achieve the goals of the Sri Lankan Government; that is, wiping out the entire Tamil community in Sri Lanka. Perhaps it is time, at the commencement of his tour of duty, that the High Commissioner be reminded of the behaviour expected of a diplomat in this country and that it is totally unacceptable that people should be encouraged to disrupt the legitimate activities of a third friendly nation.

(From Hansard, pages 3915 and 3916, 23 May 1986)

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THE TRAGEDY AT SHALOM NAGAR

THE Jaffna Diocese of the Church of South India has always identified itself with the just struggles and aspirations of the Tamil Nation. This has been so from the time when chauvinistic and racist policies first reared their ugly heads in the post independence period. More recently the Church has actively involved itself both by word and deed. The considerable amount of work done amongst refugees since 1983 and the various social and developmental programmes bear ample testimony to this. However, on the night of 4th April it became even more closely identified with the sufferings of its people in a manner both unforeseen and tragic.

The Diocese runs a Dairy Development project on a 50 acre plot at Shalom (Murippu) six miles away from Kilinochchi in northern Sri Lanka. This has been in existence since 1983. In addition to a dairy programme, vegetable cultivation and a fruit orchard, a weekly medical clinic and an under fives Day Care Centre are also conducted for the benefit of the local community (who comprise mainly of resettled Tamils). During the dark hours of the night of 4th April this institution became the setting for a tragedy the like of which has become an all too common happening in the Tamil homelands during the post 1983 period.

On the night in question, around the midnight hour, a group of security personnel broke into the farm compound. The unfortunate night watcher, a teenager, was shot dead. His crime is yet unknown. The other three employees present on the premises, two young supervisors and a labourer, were dragged off by the intruders. Of the three only the labourer knew of the killing. The other two, while unaware of this, were not over optimistic about their chances of survival. This fear, which was induced by the notorious reputation the armed forces have for their dealings with Tamil civilians, had been further strengthened by the brutal slaying nearby of a young ayurvedic doctor that very evening. The young man had been cremated alive allegedly by the army men. The physical agony that these three subsequently underwent only served to increase their pessimistic view of the probable outcome.

The three were dragged behind their captors through thick jungle scrub. All the while they received intermittent blows from rifles and helmets. In the morning, the same treatment continued, only now they had a few more Tamil youths to share the agony. Finally the group was taken to the army camp at Kilinochchi. Despite protesting that they were long standing employees of the Diocese's farm and that they were innocent of any crime it was to little avail. It was only later in the afternoon after the intervention of the C.S.I. Pastor at Kilinochchi was their release obtained. Their relief and joy can well be imagined.

The reasons behind the killing and subsequent harassment of the others is still unclear. One possibility was that the army believed that the farm was used as a hideout by Tamil militants. This accusation (if such was made) is quite untrue and seems more an excuse for the forces to indulge in their favourite pastime of terrorising Tamil civilians.

One of the young men was met by this writer a week after the incident. He could walk only with the greatest discomfort. He is grateful to God for his miraculous survival and looks forward to returning to the farm as soon as his aching body will permit him to.

The Diocese's various workers on the mainland work under constant tension and at great personal risk but continue to do so, unflinchingly and courageously, carrying out their tasks to the satisfaction of all concerned and in the service of their people. This is something that others in the Diocese should be aware of. Let us hope that they are spared such further trials and tribulations optimistic though that may seem. *D.C.A*

"End This Destructive War Now"

Women For Peace

Women's organisations from both the South and North of Sri Lanka have voiced their protests against the violence and horrors of war, against the excesses of the combatants, against the abduction of children and rape of women, against their sons, fathers and brothers being brutalised by participants in a destructive conflict which causes increasing bloodshed and wanton destruction on both sides. Now it is time for the women to not only voice their protests against insensate bombings but also to raise their voices against the war and to bring all possible pressure for a solution to this fratricidal conflict.

"Women for Peace" has issued a new leaflet, which was distributed at the major political party rallies on 1st May. Called "Women Violated", the leaflet seeks to illustrate the threat to all women in Sri Lanka inherent in the creeping – or rather galloping – militarisation and brutalisation of our society. It relates, on one side the story of a 16 year old Sinhala schoolgirl in Ratnapura, who was sexually assaulted and tortured by two policemen; and on the other, the story of a Tamil mother of 4 children, who was gang-raped by nine Home Guards in Trincomalee. Both incidents took place in the latter half of 1985.

Several incidents of rape in the North and East, by Security Forces and Home Guards, have been reported by the Jaffna Mothers 'Front and Citizens' Committees. Victims have usually been reluctant to make formal statements, through fear either of the social stigma which attaches to rape victims (not their assailants) or of reprisals: victims of rape and their families have been threatened with death, if they were to report these incidents. Where attested cases have been made the subject of special deputations to the highest levels of the government, little or no follow-up action has resulted. In a few cases of rape by Home Guards, enquiry has been followed by dismissal of the men concerned. However, this is totally dependent on the integrity and courage of individual officers in charge; there is no institutionalised procedure for assuring justice – or even an enquiry – to the victims of rape. Especially in cases involving the Army, the government appears reluctant to take action, for fear of the effects upon army "morale" and, ironically, upon army "discipline"!

The rapes in the North and East are one particularly brutal aspect of the war which the state has unleashed upon the Tamil population living in these areas.

*The case from the South, of a Sinhalese girl sexually assaulted by Sinhalese policemen indicates, in a different form, that violence has become established, even legitimised, as **the** means of settling disputes, resolving power struggles and influencing outcomes in general. **Increased violence against women is an integral part of the whole culture of violence which has pervaded our society;** for example the attempts to intimidate the judiciary, violence at elections and at cricket matches, and so on. Each instance of the abuse of power and position which the government not only allows to pass unpunished but actually condones and rewards (such as the promotion of the policemen involved in the "Pavidi Handa" and Vivienne Goonewardene fundamental rights cases) renders it more difficult to implement punitive action regarding the next one, always supposing that there exists the will to do so.*

*"Women for Peace", an organisation which unites women from all communities in working towards **a just, negotiated settlement** of the war, condemns atrocities against women by persons entrusted by the State with the protection of the civilian population.*

The events described here are symptomatic of the general culture of violence which has escalated with the intensifying militarisation of our society.

Batticaloa women protest

The Eastern province has recently seen an increase of violence against the civilian population and especially against women. At the end of April, the women of Batticaloa, for the first time marched in procession, protesting against the disappearance of 175 youths who had been taken into custody. The women marchers who were mainly the mothers and wives of these 'disappeared persons' took a petition to the Government Agent asking for the whereabouts of their missing relatives. The memorandum also demanded that the harassment of women and young girls be stopped.

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Sri Lanka pays a growing price in guerrilla war

BY SHELDON E. GORDON

A CIVIL WAR lurks only 150 kilometres away, but Sri Lanka's capital hardly notices. There is an occasional military checkpoint and the five-star hotels are three-quarters empty. But these tell-tale signs apart, the war on Tamil separatists barely makes a ripple beyond the combat zones.

For tourists from Madras, the luxury of Sri Lankan capitalism is a relief from the austerity of Indian socialism. The telephones work. Thirst can be quenched with The Real Thing instead of a CampaCola import substitute. And modern, air-conditioned cars provide comfort unavailable in India's 1950 models.

For most Sri Lankans, too, the conflict between the Sinhalese-dominated Government and the Tamil guerrillas is remote. "The war's economic effects have not yet been felt by the Sinhalese middle class in Colombo," says Neelan Thiruchelvam, a Tamil lawyer and former member of Parliament. "Most of the victims of the conflict are either Tamil civilians (in the combat zones) or rural Sinhalese youth in the armed forces."

Yet beneath the tropical lushness there is an ominous militarisation. Under the pressure of civil war, Sri Lanka's resources are diverted from economic development to arms procurement and its democratic institutions are in decline.

Military outlays cost the Sri Lankan treasury $1 million a day – 10 times as much as when President J.R. Jayawardene and his United National Party (UNP) took office in 1977. The armed forces have been expanded to 35,000 from 20,000. But most of the defence bills have been for hardware.

An Indian Government report cites purchases of 21 Bell helicopters acquired through Singapore; 12 Italian-made Marchetti warplanes; six Cessna aircraft for surveillance; 150 armoured personnel carriers obtained from Israel, South Africa and Britain; and 30,000 small arms, including mortars, machine guns and semi-automatic rifles, from Pakistan and China.

In the absence of a political settlement – or at least a ceasefire – the weaponry is needed to counter 20,000 Tamil guerrillas who make their own mortars, move freely between India and northern Sri Lanka in armed power boats and boast that they will soon have surface-to-air missiles.

Sri Lanka's arms build-up has blunted its economic development. The free-enterprise development that Mr. Jayawardene initiated in 1977 showed early and impressive results. But lately, the war has scared away tourists and forced the Government to run deficits that fuel inflation and have to be financed by costly credit from overseas bankers. "Interest payments may soon reach crisis proportions," says Colvin R. de Silva, a respected lawyer who leads a small opposition party.

Outspoken Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel seems equally worried. He recently warned that if the war continues, "there will be more and more unemployment, the cost of living will increase and the people will face immense hardship." Some discontent is already evident among salaried professionals. Nurses and doctors recently went on strike because of inflation.

By Third World standards, Sri Lankans have considerable freedom, but there are fears that political or labour unrest will be met by an iron fist. "The basic democratic system still functions, but continued erosion of civil liberties is a real danger," says Godfrey Gunatilleke, director of the Marga Foundation, an independent think-tank. "We are under emergency rule (imposed in 1980 at a time of labour militancy) and the Government has enormous powers to restrict political parties and debate."

Sri Lanka is a much less democratic society today than when Mr. Jayawardene came to office. He amended the constitution to postpone parliamentary elections and deprive the main opposition party, the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), of its seats. The Prevention of Terrorism Act restricts access to the courts and the English-language daily press is under informal censorship.

But it is the indiscriminate attacks by Sinhalese soldiers on Tamil civilians in the war zone that have hurt Sri Lanka's liberal reputation the most. Westernised Sinhalese admit the abuses yet resent international criticism of them. Typical of this political schizophrenia is the attitude of T.D.S.A. Dissanayake, the Foreign Ministry's Harvard-educated press spokesman. Unpunished massacres by the military "threaten our respectability," he admits. "How many court martials have there been? None. We have to do better than that." But then he denounces the Western press for unfair coverage.

Far from facing court martials, the military brass are acquiring unprecedented influence in national politics. The officer corps used to be ceremonial. It includes men who would be underachievers in the civilian sector. Now, however, they are near the centre of power. "For the first time, officers' wives express views on political decisions at official receptions," observes Mervyn de Silva, editor of the Lanka Guardian.

Should the war continue, the military may have a decisive voice in who succeeds President Jayawardene. (Even if the 79-year-old leader finishes his current term in 1988, he cannot – under the present constitution – run again). His UNP followers view the war mainly in terms of its likely impact on their political fortunes.

The top UNP contenders to succeed Mr. Jayawardene are Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa and National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali. Mr. Premadasa is a shrewd grassroots politician, but suffers from his low caste in status-conscious Colombo. Mr. Athulathmudali, an Oxford-educated technocrat, has no such handicap but lacks a political base – except for the army. He can only make it to the top as a war hero, which means he has a vested interest in a military triumph over the Tamil rebels rather than a political settlement.

Former Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the matriarch of the opposition Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), may do better than either of the UNP hopefuls. The middle-level officers in the armed forces were recruited as SLFP loyalists and are in her debt. Once Mr. Jayawardene is gone, they may try to make Mrs. Bandaranaike the head of a national unity coalition.

Without Mrs. Bandaranaike's at least tacit co-operation, it will be politically risky for Mr. Jayawardene to cut a deal with the Tamils. He could be accused of a sellout if he conceded Tamil demands for autonomy. Mrs. Bandaranaike has appealed to Sinhalese chauvinists previously in her efforts to outflank him.

Her price for a consensus on the war would likely be an immediate election – which observers believe she might indeed win. Mr. Jayawardene is therefore unlikely to comply. Continuation of the war, it seems, coincides with the career ambitions of too many of the political and military elite.

Indeed, several members of the UNP hierarchy are said to have feathered overseas nests for themselves lest the war end early and adversely. Ravi Jayawardene, the President's son and "security adviser", holds an Australian passport and is rumoured to have provided handsomely for possible exile through commissions on arms deals.

Just how far the rot spreads depends on Mr. Jayawardene's zeal for a military victory. In 1977, he warned the TULF in Parliament: "If you want peace, you can have peace. If you want war, you can have war." Since then, Mr. Jayawardene has shown he can wage war. He has yet to show he can make peace.

(Courtesy of the Globe and Mail, Toronto, 3.5.86)

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DIARY OF INCIDENTS

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MARCH 27

● In Jaffna, several villages in Viligamam North were subjected to air attacks for the second day. The attacks continued from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. intermittently. The incidents began when soldiers from Palaly army camp emerged from the airport area and through the Palaly Teachers' Training College premises and lay in ambush. Later, over 200 other soldiers emerged on foot, but accompanied by a convoy of vehicles and proceeded towards Kadduvan. At this stage Tamil militants launched an attack on the army convoy leaving some casualties and forcing them to withdraw to camp. The aerial attacks by helicopters began soon after this incident leaving some civilians injured and some property damaged.

● Christian priest Rev. Sahayathasan who was going from Nelliyady to Thikkam along the beach road on his motor cycle narrowly escaped when he was shot at from the army camp. The priest, who was going to church in connection with the Easter celebrations, sustained injuries on his hands and knees.

● Over 5000 Jaffna residents including women and children joined a 10-mile torch light procession raising slogans against government terrorism. Residents on the procession route volunteered with coconut oil to keep the torch flames alive.

● In Kilinochchi, following the reported escape of a Tamil youth from the army camp, residents of Vaddakachchi, Uruthirapuram, Thirunagar and other areas were subjected to surprise checks by government forces.

● Residents of Velvettiturai, Thondamannaru areas, complained that damage is being done to agricultural crops by men of the armed forces who walk through fields and farms from adjoining army camps. Meanwhile at Thondamannaru Sellasannathy temple the daily religious rites remained suspended for the 8th day.

● In Trincomalee, Citizens' Committee protested over the molesting of four married women by armed forces in broad daylight at Kattaiparichchan.

● Three farmers were injured and four buffaloes shot dead by armed forces at the 5th division in Eravur in Batticaloa district.

● At Kilinochchi armed "commandoes" in civilian attire set fire to heaps of paddy in a 10-acre field at the 8th culvert.

● Colombo newspaper "Sun" reported that the emblem "Red Army" was engraved on the cylinder which exploded at Ceylon petroleum Corporation filling station in Colombo which killed one person and injured three others.

● LTTE guerrilla "Karthik" (Kanthaiah Jeganathan) of Mullaitivu was shot dead at an army patrol in Paranthan.

MARCH 28

● Five soldiers were reported killed and three injured at Kinniya in Trincomalee district in a landmine ambush. Liberation Tigers later issued a statement stating that nine soldiers including a lieutenant were killed and eight others injured in the incident. The statement said the army party was going from Vilgam Vihara army camp to Trincomalee, 25 of them by foot and 11 in armoured cars. One armoured car was completely destroyed. Meanwhile it is reported that practically all Tamils in Kinniya area had fled to Jaffna, Mullaitivu and Batticaloa, even before the incident.

● Jaffna doctors went on sudden "strike", following the forcible removal of Dr. Krishnarajah's car from his residence at Rasavinthotam.

● In Batticaloa members of the Special Task Force went in over 15 army trucks, surrounded Karaithivu village in the early hours of the morning, entered homes and took away nearly 350 youths to the Kaluwanchchikudi commando camp.

● A retired officer Mr. A. Ganeshapillai (62) was shot dead by firing from the Point Pedro army camp when he went with his married daughter and grandchild to their home which they had evacuated earlier at Courts Road.

● At Manipay the home of a brother and sister was robbed by a gang of masked men with automatic weapons. The houses belonged to the proprietor of Mallika Stores.

● Three more houses near the Velvettiturai army camp and two more houses in Kadduvan were blown up by government forces.

● Vavuniya District Courts building situated opposite the police station was damaged by a bomb.

● Nedunkerni residents complained to Mullaitivu Citizens' Committee of the "disappearance" of six of the 18 persons arrested by the armed forces recently. The other 12 are known to be detained at Vavuniya.

● The villages of Ilupaikkulam and Sirupiddi in Trincomalee district came under aerial attack by a plane and helicopter. Details of casualties are not known.

MARCH 29

● At Kayts, in Jaffna, militants opened fire on a helicopter. It is believed that the helicopter was damaged. Following this, the civilian population was subjected to shelling from Kayts and Karainagar naval bases.

● At Vasavilan a pillion driver on a motor bicycle was shot dead by helicopter fire, while the driver escaped. Subsequently a van driver and seven others were injured when two helicopters kept on stafing the area for nearly one hour.

● Out of three soldiers injured by militant fire on Point Pedro army camp, one succumbed to injuries at Anuradhapura hospital.

● Trincomalee Citizens' Committee who protested over the absence of information regarding 23 Tamils who were arrested in Mutur towards the end of January, was told by Brigadier Harsha Gunaratne that he was not in a position to give them any information on that matter.

● At Omanthai a new army camp was set up at the old village Committee premises with 150 soldiers under the charge of a lieutenant named Weerasinghe.

MARCH 30

● Government sources in Colombo claimed that a naval patrol "intercepted a boat in the Palk Strait killing 11 terrorists and destroying an arms cache they were bringing into the Jaffna peninsula". The incident they say occurred in the waters of Mathagal.

● 175 Tamils rounded up in a search operation by armed forces at Karaithivu on the 28th were now being questioned by Special Task Force Commandos and National Intelligence Bureau, stated a Defence Ministry official in Colombo.

● At Vantharumoolai in Batticaloa two Tamils were shot dead by government forces and the tractor in which they were travelling was burnt.

● Police wireless operator A. Gnanapragasam, who was arrested eight days ago when travelling in a bus, was sent to Vavuniya army camp for an inquiry.

A Senior Customs officer, K.K. Subramaniam, from Colombo, and a Tamil trader in the south, K. Markandu of Kaduwela, were both kidnapped by unknown persons at their home in Karainagar.

● Along the north and east coast three ships of unknown origin but reported to be manned by foreigners has been sighted for the past four days according to fishermen.

● At Kadduvan, a large rice mill along with Rs. 5 lakhs worth property was burnt down by over 100 army men in civils. 10 houses close to the mill were also burnt down. It is reported that Palaly army authorities are systematically destroying all houses within 1000 metres of the army camp. With helicopters providing air cover for the destruction, residents in adjoining villages say the entire Kadduvan area appeared to be enveloped in smoke.

MARCH 31

● In Batticaloa at Kaluwankerni, two Special Task Force commandos killed another injured and two Tamil militants killed themselves by swallowing cyanide in the course of a one-hour confrontation.

● Elsewhere in Batticaloa, Commandos searched the house of the Inquirer into Sudden Deaths, Mr. T. Sivanathan, even stripping his house roof looking for hidden weapons, but the search revealed nothing.

● In Mannar, nearly 250 Sinhala workers in a government owned grape farm were reported to have been threatened to leave the area by unidentified Tamil militants group.

● Ten Tamils living in areas close to Mullaitivu army camp were taken away for questioning in the course of an intensive search.

● The following official report on Tamils under detention is released from Colombo: 222 Tamils in Welikade jail as on 23rd March 1986; 26 of them convicted under Prevention of Terrorism Act: 44 others detained under the PTA; another 151 served charge sheets under the PTA. 1100 in Boosa detention camp and seven Tamil women in Negombo jail. (Uthayan-Jaffna).

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DIARY OF INCIDENTS

● One of the mystery ships was sighted off the northern coast seen going up in flames last night. Several residents claimed that they saw planes approaching the area.

● Thousands of residents in the Palaly, Vasavilan, Kadduvan and Mylidy areas have now moved to Chunnakam as refugees.

● Three Tamil civilians including a 19-year-old mentally deranged youth were killed in the course of a search operation by armed forces, at Vavuniya.

● In Colombo, a time bomb weighing 5 kg was defused by the army bomb disposal unit at the Technical College junction. The impact of explosion created a one foot deep four feet wide crater at the spot and shattered window panes of buildings in the vicinity.

APRIL 1

● At Palaly black uniformed commandos and hundreds of soldiers who had snaked into ambush positions in farmlands and bushes, fired at civilians killing two and injuring four others. Those killed were Chellappa Rasa (48), a father of five, and Thuraisamy (38), an onion trader. Meanwhile several houses and a prominent shop at Kadduvan junction were damaged by shelling from Palaly camp.

● In Point Pedro two soldiers and one militant were believed killed in a direct confrontation. Following the withdrawal to the camp by soldiers the area was shelled from the Point Pedro army camp. Among those injured was V. Sivasubramaniam (50), who was in the act of worshipping at Point Pedro Sivan temple.

● In Batticaloa, Sinhalese owner of a eating house "Passara Hotel" R.M. Rajapaksa (42), his son Candrapala (28) and another family member Vijayapala (80) were all killed when unidentified youths on two bicycles hurled hand grenades. In another grenade attack a police sentry at the police station narrowly escaped being killed.

● Tension at Thondamannaru when army men who tried to emerge out of the camp were repulsed by Tamil militants.

● Residents in villages close to Elephant Pass moved for safety to other areas.

● Residents of Omanthai are living in fear with the establishment of a new army camp in the area.

● In Colombo, Defence Ministry official claimed that a massive arms consignment worth some two million rupees meant for Tamil militants was intercepted on the eastern coast.

APRIL 2

● At Kokkavil near Murukandy one armp officer, 2nd Lt. M.A.M.G. Mallawarachchi and eight soldiers were killed and over 15 others injured in a landmine explosion and ambush. The incident occurred when an army convoy from the Gajaba regiment was proceeding from Kilinochchi to Vavuniya. Two army vehicles were reported destroyed. It is also believed that three militants were killed in action. Life at Kilinochchi district gets paralysed consequent to these incidents.

● Three Tamil civilians were killed, several others injured, and houses damaged when helicopters strafed Ilavalai, Senthankulam, Kalladdy, Karukampanai, Vilan and other areas for nearly four hours.

● At Valvettiturai fishermen who set out to sea despite a ban on fishing were seized by armed soldiers who detained them in the army camp and later compelled them to catch fish for them. They were released later.

● Militants clashed with soldiers from Valvettiturai army camp in the late hours of the night. This was followed by heavy shelling from the army camp and the fleeing of residents to places of safety.

● The story was told of how a young husband and his expectant wife who were travelling by bus from Jaffna to Batticaloa were parted beyond Vavuniya when the husband was taken for questioning by army commandos for no given reason. The wife continued the journey but on the way passing a Sinhala village she developed birth pains. Admitted to the local hospital, she delivered the baby but died soon after. Another woman passenger from Kalmunai who had travelled with her took the infant away for safety. The husband, who apparently does not know what happened to his wife, continues to be detained, while the wife's dead body lies elsewhere and the child born to him is now in the care of Mrs. Amarasingham of Rest House Road, Kalmunai.

● Several new armoured cars and armoured vehicles were seen at Vavuniya moving northwards.

● Complaints were made by residents in the Palaly area that some kind of acid was thrown from helicopters. Two victims, Vinothkumar (22) and Rajan (23) were rushed to Jaffna general hospital for emergency treatment.

● Two Tamil policemen, A.A. Yogarajah and N. Alagarajah, both attached to Jaffna police, got sudden transfer orders to Trincomalee and Colombo.

APRIL 3

● The government launched a massive "search operation" in the Kokkavil area following yesterday's army losses in the landmine explosion and ambush attack by LTTE guerrillas. Additional troops from Anuradhapura were inducted into the area. More injured soldiers were reported to have succumbed to their injuries. LTTE estimates total army casualties at around 25, while paying tribute to four of their guerrillas who were also killed in the attack. Government sources claimed that the "terrorist plan" was to set off a series of 100 grenade explosions over 600 yards simultaneously, with the grenades strung together and operated by switches, but the plan was foiled. LTTE also claimed that one Saladin armoured car and two lorries in the convoy were destroyed. Two civilians were also killed in army reprisal.

● In the absence of oxygen cylinders, Jaffna Hospital surgeons carried out operations with the help of the Field Anaesthesia Machine brought from Colombo.

● Over 50 army men were noticed emerging out of the Palaly army camp and taking cover in abandoned homes, followed by indiscriminate fire from helicopters, causing panic in adjoining villages. But no incidents were reported and army men withdrew.

● Two Tamils, S. Pathmaseelan and K. Manoharan, who were arrested in Colombo on February 5 on suspicion of possessing false passports, were acquitted by Colombo magistrate when the police informed court that they did not wish to proceed with the case.

● Bomb shells with the marking 17-America-1985, M13-G-M-M were discovered by residents after the aerial bombing of Keerimalai, Senthankulam, Ilavalai, Alaveddy areas yesterday.

APRIL 4

● Indiscriminate army firing under helicopter aerial cover in the Palaly area. A helicopter which was fired at by militant rocket launchers swiftly ascended height but not before strafing the area heavily. Residents of Kadduvan, Kurumbaciddy, and Mylidy continued to abandon their homes and flee from the area. More reports of "acid-throwing" from helicopters which leave large boils on the victims and in some cases have paralysed parts of their bodies.

● Helicopters dropped leaflets calling upon Valvettiturai residents to vacate the area and warning them that if Tamil militants attacked the army camp they would be forced to fire back and civilian lives would be in jeopardy.

● Jaffna commercial establishments closed doors and road blocks were laid in protest against the robbery at New Victors at Stanley Road on the 1st.

● 13 Tamil families from Triyayai village, 30 miles north of Trincomalee, arrived by foot in Trincomalee town, because of paucity of food and provisions in their area. They were accommodated at the refugee camp at St. Joseph's College.

● Nearly 80 Tamil men, women and children from Trincomalee district who were trying to escape to India by sea, were intercepted by a Navy boat off the Chundikulam coast and taken to the Naval camp, at Trincomalee. The "boat people" who told the Naval authorities that they had lost everything they had and were living in fear of their lives, were assured that they would be looked after in refugee camps. Four of the men, however, were detained for further questioning, and the boats in which they travelled were set on fire and sunk by the navy men.

● Nearly 5,000 poor people in the Thondamanaru area who were depending on the Sellasannathy temple for their daily food are now left starving after the nonfunctioning of the temple administration following the army attack on the temple. This Hindu temple has been traditionally known for its "Annathanam", where nobody who goes there for food has been known to be turned away.

APRIL 5

● LTTE militants and security forces clashed at Arasady chenai in Batticaloa district. Rocket launchers, guns and bombs

Continued on page 14

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Diary of Incidents

were used in the clash. The battle erupted when convoy of army tried to move from Karadiyanaru commando camp to Karaveddy village to conduct "search and destroy" operation. LTTE said a number of soldiers were killed, a truck and an armoured car were destroyed. LTTE member Puviraj died in the clash.

● Five businessmen from Jaffna were taken into custody by Kalmunai police commandos and after interrogation released.

● Dr. Christopher Noel (26), a Homeopathy doctor from Mullaitivu who came as a refugee to Kanagapuram at Kilinochchi, was reported to have been burnt alive at Ottankulam along with a Dustan van, by government forces.

● Two persons branded as "anti-socials" were found shot dead and tied to lamp posts at Kiran junction in Batticaloa district.

● 19 persons were transferred from army camp Vavuniya to Boosa in the south.

● Kurumbacitty, Palaly, Vasavilan, Myliddy and Kadduvan were subjected to helicopter attack. The attack lasted an hour.

● Parents and relatives of 500 persons arrested by security forces in Batticaloa complained to Mr. Sam Thambimuttu, Secretary, Citizens' Committee Batticaloa, about their anxiety regarding the fate of those taken into custody.

APRIL 6

● Two soldiers were injured when militants attacked army camp housed in Jaffna Dutch Fort. Government claimed that the attack was repulsed and a number of militants were killed or injured. Jaffa town in tension. Shops and boutiques closed.

● Colombo newspaper "The Island" reports that "Victor Marshall", LTTE commanding officer of Kilinochchi district, was shot dead by security forces in the course of the Kokkavil attack on the 2nd.

● Lt. Gen. Cyril Ranatunga advised civilians around four security camps in the north, Point Pedro, Valvettiturai, Palaly and Thondamannaru to vacate their homes with mortars and rockets. Warning leaflets are air dropped from helicopters.

● Villagers of Neerveli protested against robberies by blocking all approaches to their village after unknown persons entered a house and robbed cash and jewellery and articles worth Rs. 150,000.

● One dead and two injured in a trade union clash in Maha Uva estate managed by Janata Estate Development Board.

● Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation in a Press-Release in Madras claimed responsibility for the sea mine which destroyed a Sri Lankan navy gun-boat yesterday.

● Fishermen who ventured to fish in the Valvettiturai sea were attacked by the navy and their boats and nets damaged. Murali (25), Tharmu (40), Vinayagamoorthy (50), Periyathamel (36), Somu (32) Puthiraseegamany (28), and Rasu (32) were the victims.

● Jaffna town was under attack by bombs and shells. Two persons were killed and 10 injured. Shops, hotels and houses were damaged. When the army tried to come out of the Jaffna fortress, militants attacked them with hand grenades. Army relatives

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Manuel Anthonipillai (30), father of four children, and Xavier Sahayarusan (26), father of a child, were killed. Those injured were Winslaus Rajeswari (26), mother of four children, Alphonseus Sahadevi (30), Nagendran Judekumar (26), all of Gurunagar. Cyril Papa (14), Shanmugarasa (16) of Thirunelveli, Pathmanathan Suganthan (17) of Ariyalai, A. Sundari (30), Alexander Francis (26), both of Gurunagar, N. Yogeswaran (19) of Jaffna.

● Two soldiers were injured when militants shelled Jaffna fort army camp. The injured were flown to Colombo.

APRIL 7

● Following the robberies at Neerveli and Kondavil, the public for the second day continued to demonstrate by blocking the Point Pedro and Palaly roads with stones and trees. They said that they will demonstrate until the robbed articles and cash are returned.

● In a confrontation between government troops and militants at Thambiluwela a number of casualties were reported.

● Rs. 24,000 was robbed from the Petrol Shed run by the co-operative depot in Vavuniya district. Two armed persons dressed in shirt and sarong threatened five employees and robbed the cash.

● Food items from the Jaffna railway station stores was robbed for second time.

● Ambalavanar Gnaprakasam (38) of Karainagar, who was taken into custody for questioning by the Oddusuddan police, was released today but his identity card was retained by the police.

● Omanthai sub-post office has been closed following the opening of an army camp. People deserted the place in fear, hence the closure.

● Karunakaran, who tried to cross the Batticaloa lagoon, during a search by armed forces at Navatkuli died of shooting by the latter.

● Tension was reported when armed forces marched forcibly about 150 civilians from Palaly camp to Kankesanthurai camp as protective cover for them from militant attack. They were later released at Vasavilan. Helicopter attacks at Myliddy, Thaiyiddy and Oorani but no casualties reported.

APRIL 8

● Al Haj M.M.A. Azeez (53), Muslim principal of Kathankudi government mixed school, was assaulted by 20 Muslim Home Guards. He was admitted to the Batticaloa hospital with a fractured arm.

● Gun fire was heard at Batticaloa for about fifteen minutes from 7 p.m.

● The commander of the armed forces in Nainathivu ordered residents of Nainathivu not to step out of their homes after 8 p.m. and if they did so they would be shot at. The residents were frightened by the new order.

● Passengers were stopped at Vavuniya Kachcheri army camp and searched. They were put into inconvenience by this act.

● Kilinochchi area was in tension when the bursting of a bomb was heard from the direction of the army camp.

● About 400 persons marched to the residence of the Junior Minister and M.P. for Sammanthurai and pleaded for protection from the armed forces who were harassing the people under the guise of searching.

● A newly recruited soldier tried to shoot himself in an attempt to commit suicide at Kilinochchi army camp but was saved by his colleagues.

APRIL 9

● The decomposed bodies of three farmers arrested by the Home Guards at Pattikudiyiruppu in Batticaloa district were found but the fate of the fourth farmer arrested along with them is not known. The Home Guards and soldiers summoned the villagers while they were participating in a temple festival at Pattikudiyiruppu. These farmers arrived from Kumulamunai with Rs. 7000 to purchase cattle. They were arrested by the Home Guards.

● Armed forces from a helicopter shot at youths playing cricket in a field at Irupalai in Kopay electorate in Jaffna.

● Postal peons travelling in a CTB bus from Mankulam to Jaffna with mail bags were mercilessly assaulted by the armed forces while checking the passengers at Mankulam.

● Inspector Parakrama Perea, Constable Piyasena and a civilian were killed by a landmine while travelling from Talaimannar in a jeep, said a government report.

● Co-ordinating officer for Vavuniya proclaimed forests in the Vavuniya district as prohibited zone and movement of persons in these forests are forbidden. Those who violate this order could be arrested by the armed forces.

● 250 sovereigns worth of jewels, including 125 sovereigns belonging to Vaddukoddai temple were robbed by unknown persons.

● A home-made bomb falling from the waist of a person taken to the police station for inquiry, injured him, a policeman and two others. This incident occurred at the Dematagoda police station, in Colombo.

● Five Buddhist priests started a fast to death in front of the Buddha statue at Bambalapitiya, Colombo, protesting at the government attitude towards the nurses' strike.

● A helicopter attacked a van at Irupalai. Five houses and two shops were damaged. The van collided with a tractor.

● Polonarruwa police arrested a group of four armed youths, who according to them are on the rampage in the village of Ellewewa, in the Maduru Oya settlement. The police claim youths were "terrorists".

APRIL 10

● Two soldiers were killed and four injured in a landmine explosion near Sirimapura settlement at Nilaveli in Trincomalee district. The dead soldiers were identified as Corporal H.M. Cyril from Kandy and Lance Corporal Gunasighe of Galewala.

● In Colombo, the government claimed that elsewhere, at Kokkilai, three "terrorists" were killed in encounter with army.

● In two army camps in Jaffna Peninsula, at Navatkuli and at Valvettiturai, attempts by army units to emerge and spread out

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LETTERS

WHO SEPARATES?

THE Prime Minister of India, interviewed at the airport on his recent return from his visit to the four front line states in South Africa, remarked that the Sri Lankan Government was moving towards a military solution of its ethnic problem. A BBC commentator remarked that India had been taken for a ride by the Sri Lankan Government.

President Junius Jayawardene likes to think big. He wants to wipe out anything he does not like. Of course he does it in the most polite way. At the beginning of the ethnic struggle he called his trusted Brigadier and told him to wipe out the Tigers by the end of the year. The Brigadier and his men dutifully went and at the end of the year reported back: Your Excellency, there are no more Tigers.

Six years and more later not only are there Tigers but they have developed into "terrorists" and terrorists of the worst sort, "Marxist terrorists". If they were Fascist terrorists they would not hurt President Jayawardene so much.

Now he has vowed to wipe out Tamil terrorism by the end of the year. Having dealt with the Tamils in the Eastern Province he is now making, in the words of the BBC, a three-pronged attack on Jaffna – the last remaining Tamil place left – by sea, air and land. Freshly recruited, well armed and well trained (mostly abroad) troops rolling in armoured cars (supplied by South Africa) are stalled, due to fierce resistance, according to the BBC account. So the attack is from the sea and from the air.

The tragedy is that a simple internal problem was allowed to bludgeon out into an international one inducing President Jayawardene to introduce early the notorious foreign mercenaries from Israel and Britain into Sri Lanka to fight the Tamils. The Israeli connection has given a foothold to the bandits of the Middle East into South Asia and also angered Arab countries where so many of our nationals earn precious foreign exchange. All this why? To prevent Tamils from looking after their own internal affairs in areas densely occupied by them.

I wonder if President Jayawardene ever stops to think how he is going to solve the ethnic problem by military action. Is he hoping that once the boys and girls whom he calls "Marxist terrorists" are liquidated the Tamil people will rally round him to impose his will on them? Is he aware that there is hardly a single Tamil family in the North and East which does not mourn the loss of a precious son, daughter, father, mother or friend. All the atrocities committed on innocent Tamils by his armed and auxiliary forces, while he looked on cannot be wiped out with sweet words and religious tamashas.

The Ceylon Tamils lived like brothers with the Sinhalese till independence. Today many of us who spent our lives working with Sinhalese as brothers, wonder if it ever will be possible again. Is separatism being forced on us?

R.W.C. Thambiah
Jaffna

WHITHER FREEDOM?

Even in the midst of a ferocious and cruel struggle, a struggle for survival as an ethnic group, people must not forget *why* they are fighting, enduring pain, making sacrifices – even of their lives. The struggle is for freedom; the freedom of the community, of the people. But communities and people are made up of individuals and so, in the final analysis, the struggle is also for the freedom of individuals. In the course of the struggle, the oppressed Tamils must not become like the oppressors (the Sinhala government and its racist security forces).

The recent fighting between two liberation movements is heartbreaking; not to be endured. Freedom, ethnic freedom, also means the freedom of individuals and groups within the wider (in this case, Tamil) group; the freedom to have different opinions and ideologies; the freedom to choose different strategies and priorities; practise different religious faiths . . . If this freedom is not granted; if toleration is not extended, then the Tamils must wonder whether all their suffering and sacrifice will only lead to their being ruled by a small group of arrogant, self-opinionated and merciless Tamils.

In that case, bearing George Orwell's *Animal Farm* in mind, Sinhala rule might be preferable.

C.P. Shanmugan
Lusaka, Zambia.

DIARY OF INCIDENTS

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were foiled by militant fire and grenade attacks.

● Seven Buddhist priests who were observing a fast to death in front of a Buddha statue at Bambalapitiya protesting against government indifference to the nurses' strike were abducted by a gang of unknown persons in jeeps and trucks.

● The famed Sellasannathy Hindu temple suffered heavy damage by army shelling from the nearby Thondamanaru army camp. The temple tower, the temple belfry and other parts of the temple complex were damaged.

● 3,000 estate workers at Talawakelle launched a strike protesting the arrest of a worker, Ramasamy Sinnathamby, of Agrapatana.

● A 29-year-old Tamil woman, mother of 2 children, who was allegedly raped by army men at Chenai village in Mutur, was admitted to Trincomalee hospital. Trincomalee Citizens' Committee is to take up the matter with army authorities.

JAPANESE BUDDHIST SOLIDARITY

DEAR Tamil friends who struggle against the oppression and chauvinism:

I am very much concerned, as a Buddhist monk in Japan, about the cruel and brutal chauvinism of the Sri Lankan Government to you Tamil people. Many Buddhists from Japan have recently visited Sri Lanka to exchange friendship with Buddhists in Sri Lanka. They are, however, not at all aware of the massive oppression, killings etc., by the Government which shows total disregard of human rights of the Tamils.

I promise that I'll make the greatest effort to inform Japanese Buddhists of the reality in Sri Lanka, using the media. I have worked as a journalist for a long time, so that I believe that I can carry out this promise, contributing to bring international pressure on the Sri Lanka Government.

Our history shows that the oppressed is the one who gets victory after all.

In solidarity, J. Maruyama
Maruyama Teruo, Buddhist monk, Nichirenshu, Japan

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NATIONAL HEALTH AND PRIVATE TREATMENT

By Appointment:–

MONDAY	11.30 A.M. – 8.30 P.M.
TUESDAY	11.30 A.M. – 8.30 P.M.
WEDNESDAY	11.30 A.M. – 8.30 P.M.
THURSDAY	9.30 A.M. – 5.30 P.M.
FRIDAY	6.00 A.M. – 8.00 P.M.
SATURDAY	12 NOON – 8.00 P.M.

Closed for lunch – 1–2 P.M. & on Sundays and Bank Holidays

NEAREST UNDERGROUND STATION: PLAISTOW

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Government Proposals For Settlement

Continued from page 5

Navigation, Territorial waters and economic zones, Census and Statistics, Professional Occupations and Training, all subjects and functions not otherwise specifically assigned, Inter Province/District Trade and Commerce, State Lands and Foreshore subject to the extent that certain of these powers will be devolved on Provincial Councils/District Councils, National Archives.

Legislative Powers

Subject to the provisions of the Constitution as amended, Provincial Councils will have powers to enact legislation on subjects devolved upon them. However, if the President is of the opinion that the constitutional validity of any provincial legislation has to be decided by the Supreme Court, he may refer it to the Supreme Court for a decision.

Executive Power

The proposals provide for a Provincial Governor to be appointed by the President. Executive power (including all matters in respect of which Provincial Councils have power of legislation) shall be delegated to the Governor. These powers shall be exercised by him or through officers subordinate to him.

The leader of the party which commands the majority in the Provincial Council shall be appointed as Chief Minister by the Governor. The Board of Ministers will be appointed by the Governor on the recommendation of the Chief Minister.

The proposal to vest executive power upon the Governor who is an appointee of the President would appear to be an attempt at retention of Presidential executive power through the Governor. If this is not the intention, one is tempted to raise the question as to why executive power of the Provincial Council should not be vested in the Chief Minister and the Board of Ministers.

Financial Powers

The Provincial Councils shall have the power to levy taxes, cess or fees and to mobilise resources through loans, the proceeds of which will be credited to a Provincial Fund set up for that particular Council to which it will also be credited grants, allocations or subventions from the Republic. Financial resources will be apportioned to the Provinces on the recommendations of a representative Finance Commission appointed from time to time by the President.

In respect of loans or grants, any foreign loans or grants would require the sanction of the Government of Sri Lanka in accordance with national policy. The nature of taxes to be levied by the Provincial Councils will be defined by Parliament by law.

Elections and Membership

Elections will be held in respect of each Province on the proportional representation system on the basis of District Administration for the Constitution of a Provincial Council. The number of members to be elected to each Provincial Council will be determined according to the population and area of each District within that Province. The term of office of each Provincial Council will be co-terminous with that of Parliament.

On the establishment of a Provincial Council, it may, by resolution, decide to grant right of audience in the Provincial Council, but without right to vote, to Members of Parliament elected from the Province.

Dissolution

Where the President is satisfied that the affairs of any Provincial Council are not being carried on in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution or of any other law, he may take such measures or pass such orders as he may deem fit to ensure that they are so carried on, including an order for the dissolution of the Council and for taking such consequential measures as he may deem necessary. Every such order dissolving a Council shall be operative for a period of six months at a time but not exceeding one year in all provided however, that Parliament approves of such action within two months of making of the order of dissolution.

The government has agreed to further discuss the circumstances under which the President may dissolve a Provincial Council or remove the Provincial government, and the conditions and limitations under which such powers may be exercised.

The proposals envisage a provincial judiciary with a High Court in each Province. The Supreme Court of Sri Lanka will exercise appellate and constitutional jurisdiction.

A Provincial public service is to be established and there is provision for secondment of officers from the Central Government Public Service.

The present proposals do not provide for procedures for recruitment, training, promotion or disciplinary control of judicial or public officers.

Language Rights

The proposals are silent on the issue of linguistic rights of the people. It should be recognised that the enactment of the Sinhala Only Act in 1956 constituted the beginning of the ethnic conflict in its present form leading to its progressive escalation.

The Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam Pact, the Dudley Senanayake-Chelvanayakam Pact, the Language of the Courts Act, and the 1972 and 1978 Constitutions all recognise and accept the special status of the use of Tamil language in the administration and maintenance of records in the northern and eastern provinces. However, the sum total of the present legal position as far as the status of the Tamil language and the rights of the Tamil speaking people are concerned is that "the whole exercise is merely by translations from the official version. For an equitable solution acceptable to the Tamil speaking people, it is essential that the Tamil language should enjoy the same status at least in the northern and eastern provinces as that of Sinhala in the rest of the country.

To protect the linguistic rights of the minorities throughout the country, constitutional provision should be made for the same linguistic rights for the Sinhala people in the northern and eastern provinces as those provided for the Tamil speaking people in the rest of the country.

"No time for love or marriage . . ."

Torn by fratricidal conflict, by the presence of an army of occupation, bent on genocide, bombed, subjected to outrages of numerous descriptions, Jaffna survives, still unconquerable in spirit. Its hardy citizens to whom living with turmoil has become a fact of daily existence continue to protest against several injustices despite harassment by the State and state-owned armed forces. A case in point is the Tamil protest against the recent bombing of Libya by the US administration.

Thanks to the courage and dedication of her freedom fighters, the heart of the northern peninsula is kept beating strongly despite the array of forces, foreign and otherwise, out to destroy it. But the price the Tamils have to pay for freedom is heavy indeed.

Our young men have no time to think of love or marriage – and as a result our maidens are doomed to spinsterhood for the rest of their lives.

Our nation is growing older. The young Sri Lankan Tamil males in their twenties who should man the various professions, run the industries, provide the technology, the labour force and the agricultural skills so vital for the development of the land are either freedom fighters being systematically wiped out in battle or compelled to take refuge in foreign countries. Those in their thirties who are now in command will soon be middle-aged and those now regarded as elderly will be too old to contribute much to establish the nation on a sound footing.

The young are the life-blood of the country and in them lies our hope for the future. It therefore becomes the duty of every young Sri Lankan Tamil couple to increase the size of their families in the national interest and not limit it by means of contraception, abortion or sterilisation. In the case of those living in affluent Western countries who can afford to feed, clothe and educate their offspring, it is important that they bring up their young with a sense of patriotism and a reverence for their rich culture, traditions and their ancient religion.

Only thus can the Ceylon Tamil nation be saved in a time of crisis such as has never been faced in their long history.

The flower of our nation – its young men prepared to sacrifice their lives, their future and their comfort for the sake of preserving their heritage and their homelands – are decreasing in number with every passing day on the soil of the northern and eastern districts of Sri Lanka, without taking into account those gunned down on the seas while making the perilous sea trip between India and the northern or eastern coast of Sri Lanka. That they have died the death of heroes is small consolation to their bereaved parents and to the Tamil population in general.

Therefore, let us take timely action to avert the imminent decrease in numbers of our Sri Lankan Tamil brethren. The American, Sam Levenson, writes: "I believe that each new-born child arrives on earth with a message to deliver to mankind. Clenched in his little fist is some particle of yet unrevealed truth, some missing clue, which may solve the enigma of man's destiny. He has a limited amount of time to fulfil his mission and he will never get a second chance – nor will we. He may be our last hope. He must be treated as top-sacred."

By courtesy of Ceylon Tamil Association Newsletter No. 7 (June 1986)

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CPSL'S PLAN FOR SETTLEMENT OF ETHNIC CONFLICT

This is the text of a statement adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka at its meeting on 7 and 8 June, 1986:

UNLESS a concerted effort is made now to reach a negotiated settlement of the problem of inter-nationality relations, which has assumed crisis proportions, there is no way for the people of Sri Lanka to stop the slide towards endless slaughter, escalating tension and insecurity, financial and economic ruin, administrative chaos, the destruction of democracy, a de facto division of the country, and subordination to imperialism's political and military plans in this region.

The present UNP government and its policies are mainly responsible for this dangerous situation. The government has shown not merely its inability to solve this vital problem on its own, but also to fulfil the elementary duty to ensuring the people in all parts of this country the safety and security to which they are entitled. It has besmirched Sri Lanka's reputation abroad, brought it to a position of almost total international isolation, and greatly prejudiced our relations with our immediate neighbour.

Nevertheless, at this critical juncture, the situation cannot be retrieved by merely identifying responsibility for it or assigning blame. Nor will any progress be made in this direction by mere repetition of ultimate solutions by this or that political party or organisation. What is necessary is to bring about a cessation of armed hostilities and terror by both the government and the Tamil armed organisations, and a fresh attempt to reach a reasonable and democratic political agreement through negotiations, using India's good offices as well.

The Communist Party of Sri Lanka has always held that a just and permanent solution to this problem can only be reached in a socialist society which, in addition to abolishing exploitation and discrimination and guaranteeing equality and brotherhood of all citizens and nationalities, will also permit the most rapid and balanced development of the economy, without which any solution will lack a firm material base. **We have proposed, and will continue to advocate, a solution based on the recognition of the right of the Sri Lanka Tamils to self-determination, and regional autonomy for them within a united Sri Lanka, whose territorial integrity will be inviolate and respected by all.** The forms through which these basic principles should be expressed can vary and are subject to discussion and agreement.

However, our Party has repeatedly made it clear that, notwithstanding our views on a final solution to this problem, we are ready, in the interests of achieving immediate peace and better relations between nationalities in this country, to contribute towards, and abide by, any democratic agreement reached through negotiations, even though we may not agree with it fully. This remains our position.

Accordingly, we appeal to all concerned to do everything possible to create conditions for a peaceful and fruitful settlement, even an interim one, through the processes of discussion and negotiation. All attempts to solve this problem by military means must be rejected.

We renew our appeal to both the government and the armed Tamil organisations for an end to military and terroristic actions, whether state or private, and a stable cease fire.

We call on the government to let the people know what exactly are its present proposals, which are still shrouded in secrecy, for a political settlement.

We also ask the government to take the following steps so as to create a more favourable atmosphere for a political settlement:

(1) Withdraw its recent discriminatory and illegal exclusion of Tamils from several government departments and state corporations;

(2) Stop indiscriminate arrests and detention on suspicion of Tamil youth in Colombo and elsewhere;

(3) Guarantee that all persons taken into custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and similar Laws will be either charged before the courts in three months or released;

(4) Repeal the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution, which does nothing to protect the unity or territorial integrity of Sri Lanka but only penalises persons for their views and arbitrarily prevents democratic and peaceful discussion of issues;

- **DECLARE TAMILS AS A DISTINCT NATIONALITY**
- **RECOGNISE TAMILS' RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION**
- **REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR TAMIL AREAS**
- **REPEAL SIXTH AMENDMENT**
- **END DISCRIMINATORY LAND SETTLEMENT**
- **BRING TO TRIAL OR RELEASE ALL DETAINEES**

(5) Declare its acceptance of Sri Lankan Tamils as a distinct nationality with an inalienable right to protect and foster their own language, culture and national identity, and its readiness to devolve central powers and functions in accordance with this; and

(6) Guarantee that state-sponsored schemes of land settlement will not be implemented in such a way as to alter adversely the ethnic composition of any region of the country.

At the Round Table Conference and after, our party stated that we were prepared to support interim settlement based on the maximum devolution of central powers and functions to Provincial Councils or similar bodies. We are glad that many who opposed such a settlement then are now ready to accept a settlement on these lines.

We therefore call on the government to declare its readiness to provide for such Provincial or similar Councils which will enjoy extensive powers in their areas of jurisdiction over such subjects and functions as education, employment, land settlement, law and order, etc.

As to the vexed question of the compulsory merger of the eastern with the northern province in a single unit as pre-condition to any political settlement, our Party urges the TULF leaders and others, who insist on this pre-condition not to do so. It would not be democratic to compel the racially mixed population of the eastern province to accept a compulsory merger with the north without their specific agreement. It is also our view that, at the present juncture, the substance of the devolution of powers and functions is more important than the form of the unit of devolution.

Our Party welcomes the fact that some of the armed organisations of Tamil youth have indicated a willingness to seek a political settlement of this problem, thereby continuing a process which began at the time of the Thimpu talks. But we strongly condemn the apparent decision of some other groups to pass over from armed struggle against the government's security forces to reckless terrorist violence against civilians, as witnessed in recent bomb explosions and in the brutal execution of the inhabitants of isolated Sinhalese hamlets in the eastern province, including women and children. Such contemptible actions are totally alien to any genuine liberation struggle, which the armed organisations say they are waging. We call on the Tamil militants, many of whom have condemned such actions as wrong and counter-productive to take steps to see that they are stopped.

Our Party calls on the leaders of the SLFP, who up to now have pursued an evasive and essentially racist policy in relation to this vital issue, to cease to do so. We ask them, instead, to make known their party's proposed solution to this problem and to contribute positively towards its settlement through negotiations. If the SLFP leaders, who demand a general election for a new government, are really interested in achieving this, they should surely do everything they can to see that the nationalities problem is settled at least to the extent of allowing the holding of really free and fair elections throughout the whole country.

Our Party also calls on the government and the SLFP leaders to stop provocative attacks on India and its leaders. Such attacks can only prejudice any positive role that India's government can play as a mediator and make a negotiated political settlement more difficult to achieve.

The Communist Party will continue to do all it can to help the creation of the necessary political climate and conditions for a political settlement of the nationalities problem. It urges all other parties to do the same. A special responsibility in this matter rests with parties that represent Left and radical forces in this country. Their united initiative can help greatly to break the present stalemate.

On behalf of the Central Committee.
K.P. de Silva, General Secretary

To commemorate the third anniversary of the Black July massacre and genocide of Tamils

MARCH & RALLY

Sunday, July 27, 1986

Assemble: Hyde Park, 12.00 noon
Meeting: in Hyde Park at 12.30pm

Nearest Tube: Marble Arch

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PRABAKARAN ON LTTE'S

EELAM IDEAL

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has gained a position of dominance among the Tamil liberation groups striving to achieve a separate state comprising the northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka. We reproduce, without comment, the text of an interview given to 'India Today' (30.6.86) by the leader of the LTTE, Mr. V. Prabakaran, in view of the fact that some of his answers relate to matters of crucial importance to the future of the Tamil people and their rights and freedoms.

Q. What, in your view, will be the next chapter of the Sri Lankan problem?

A. Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayawardene (JRJ) will come to the negotiating table only if he has been able to gain some military advantage. Till then, he will only be continuing the military option.

Q. Don't you think it is possible for the Sri Lankan Government with all its resources to ultimately militarily crush your movement?

A. JRJ may think he can find a military solution to the ethnic problem. But he can only succeed in bringing about genocide on a large scale. We have with us young boys who are willing to die one after another till we are able to achieve our objective.

Q. How do you estimate LTTE's strength vis-a-vis the Sri Lankan Army?

A. I cannot reveal any military secrets, but we have the capability to send the army out. I can assure you that LTTE is capable of mobilising enough support to defeat the Sri Lankan army.

Q. Do you have a specific time frame for achieving an independent Tamil state of Eelam?

A. I can't say specifically when we will attain Eelam. But we will certainly attain it. It will also to a certain extent depend on the international situation, the economic pressures that Colombo faces and will face because of our armed struggle. Once his foreign supporters realise that JRJ is not capable of holding the country together they will desert him. His guns, bombs and tanks have not been able to deter us from launching a sustained offensive against his regime.

Q. But don't you think you can negotiate an honourable settlement with the Sri Lankan Government?

A. We have crossed the stage of being able to visualise a solution within the framework of a united Sri Lanka. We have come to a point of no return with regard to the Eelam ideal.

Q. What is the geographical territory you want to liberate as Eelam?

A. Eelam was already existing. There was a distinct Tamil homeland. We are now trying only to retrieve that.

Q. Have you yourself been on the field?

A. Yes. I have taken part in a number of military operations. In fact, in our group, all of us have to.

Q. What was your first important military operation?

A. My first major military encounter was in 1975 when I shot and killed the former mayor of Jaffna, Alfred Duraiappa. Subsequently I have taken part in a number of military actions of our group; I was very much there in the Nilaveli operations, and I led the ambush on the military convoy that killed 13 soldiers in Tinneveli in 1983.

Q. Can you tell us how many people you have personally killed in the course of military struggle?

A. I cannot tell you that, but I have been in a number of our military actions. I can operate everything from a pistol to a rocket-ranger.

Q. What were the reasons for your waging a war on TELO? Don't you think disunity among the militants can only weaken your movement?

A. In our struggle we have to adopt a unified approach. Any disunity among us will be a weakness for the entire Tamil movement. But it is precisely this disunity that was developing. In my opinion, there must only be one dominant militant group to lead the struggle. And it is we Tigers who were able to foil the Sri Lankan Army's offensives in many cases. And it is very dangerous for the Sri Lankan Army to deal with a single unified movement. It is a single unified Tiger movement now.

Q. But couldn't you have brought about unity by discussions?

A. How could we discuss anything with the other groups when they were themselves hopelessly disunited within?

Q. Is eliminating the other groups the only way to a unified approach?

A. We did not wipe out any movement. We only taught TELO a lesson. TELO was killing our LTTE leaders, and if we had not tackled them the Tiger movement would have gradually ceased to exist. You will appreciate that even when we had problems with the Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front, we were very patient. Even in the case of TELO, though around 100 militants were killed, we only took into custody over 400 TELO fighters and seized their arms and ammunition. The only principle was that these people need not wield arms if they cannot fight the real enemy. While our cadres were really keeping the Sri Lankan Army at bay, these other groups were indulging in antisocial activities. And Jaffna people said it was good for us to take total charge of the liberation movement.

Q. What do you say to Jayawardene calling you terrorists?

A. We are not terrorists. We are the representatives of people who want to get out of the clutches of state terrorism.

Q. What is your reply to Jayawardene's allegation that you are getting arms from communist countries?

A. If I was getting arms from communist countries, I would have given you an interview in Tamil Eelam.

Q. What political set-up do you visualise for Tamil Eelam?

A. It would be a socialist state of Tamil Eelam. And there would be a single political party supported by the people. I am opposed to the multi-party democracy. It is through the one-party rule that we can develop the Eelam faster. In a socialist set up people's needs are more important.

Q. Would you have parliamentary democracy?

A. No, it would be a people's democracy, a model similar to that of Yugoslavia where people elect a single party.

Q. What kind of foreign policy would you like to follow?

A. We will definitely like to be closer to the socialist block because these are the ones who are helping us now.

Q. Do you go to Jaffna these days?

A. My movements are a secret. But all my cadres are my trusted lieutenants. They keep in touch with me.

Q. LTTE has the reputation of having a strict code of conduct . . . ?

A. We do impose a moral code. For example, we do allow our members to marry, but we wouldn't allow loose morals. We don't allow our members to drink, and they generally don't smoke. We ensure a life within social norms.

Q. Jayawardene accuses you of launching your military struggle from Indian soil. How do you react to that?

A. Our struggle is taking place in Eelam. We are conducting the war there. And when necessity arises we will go there. We have no desire to fight from here. We are here to carry on an international political campaign and not to launch a military struggle.

Q. Can you name some of the countries which are helping Jayawardene?

A. Racist and authoritarian governments like South Africa, Pakistan, and Israel, and of course the SAS mercenaries.

Q. What is your equation with the Government of India now?

A. The Government of India is sympathetic to our cause. Our being allowed to stay here also shows the magnanimity of the Indian Government. India has been good enough to give refuge to all our exiled political leaders.

Q. What is your response to the Government of India's mediatory efforts?

A. We fully support the Government of India's peace initiatives. We support India's role fully.

Q. But India wants a solution within the frame-work of a united Sri Lanka. Whereas you are bent on Eelam. Doesn't that mean you are at cross purposes with India?

A. We are representing the political aspirations of our people. We don't think the Government of India will go against the aspirations of our people. India's support is important to us. But we also have a right to self-determination.

Q. What will you do if Rajiv asks you to get out because he doesn't take kindly to terrorism?

A. We don't think Rajiv will ask us to pack our bags. But then if we are asked to go we will have to go. Our homeland is always waiting for us with open arms. But we are convinced that he has full sympathies with the Tamil people.

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SENATOR ALAN MISSEN

– A TRIBUTE –

We regret to report the death of Senator Alan Missen, a great Parliamentarian, dogged fighter for human rights and a friend to oppressed people everywhere. We mourn his passing and express thankfulness for his life and work.

At the time of his death, he was Chairman of the Australian Amnesty International Parliamentary Group, Deputy Chairman of the Parliamentary Joint Committee monitoring the National Crime Authority. Earlier, he had, for many years, led the Select Committee on Constitutional and Legal Affairs.

It was in connection with his work in Amnesty International that I first came to meet Senator Missen. A.I. had investigated and compiled numerous instances of Human Rights violations in Sri Lanka. I found that the Senator knew in close detail many of these instances.

Matters concerning South Africa, East Timor, Philippines and wherever else, governments, and powers-that-be oppressed minorities – racial, religious, political or whatever – Senator Missen made it his business to inform himself on these matters. He had kindred spirits in various parts of the world who would keep him informed and seek his advice. Occasionally, he telephoned me when some piece of Tamil news had come to him internationally, to check whether our sources also confirmed the news. He would double-check on facts before he accepted them.

When matters seemed to require personal investigation he would travel there himself. He went to South Africa and twice in the last two years to Sri Lanka at his own expense to ascertain for himself the situation. Then he would prepare reports and also speak in the Senate. I know that the Sri Lankan press and some Sri Lankans here abused him – but he stood by what he knew.

He was Vice-Chairman of the high powered International Alert which was discussing Sri Lankan problems. This Committee includes Dame Judith Hart, British MP and former Minister, Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and Andrew Young, former US Ambassador to the UN. Senator Missen was preparing to attend a meeting of this Committee in Rome later this week.

At the last Senate meeting in Canberra, Senator Missen made a speech on Tamil affairs. The amount of detail he had collected, brilliantly summarised and presented amazed me. Every avenue of information and every person's view was given a fair go. When I finished reading a copy of that speech I said, "What a great speech and what a good man".

It is a kind of speech which I would have travelled a hundred miles to listen to. It would have warmed the hearts of all those dedicated to human rights.

Talking about great men, I recall a series of letters which the great Albert Einstein exchanged with another great physicist, Max Born. In one letter Einstein wrote, "I agree that there are far too few people in our world who would be truly and deeply concerned about the human rights and well-being of others – but it is the fact that there are at last a few such that makes life worth living – Believe me! my dear Max!" So wrote Einstein. Alan Missen was one such great man.

His wife and best friend, MOLLIE, will miss him.

The Liberal Party will miss him.

The Australian Parliament will miss him.

The Australian people will miss him.

And many oppressed people in the world will miss him.

Not only miss – but also remember him with love and pride.

– Prof. C.J. Eliezer

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CLD DEPLORES "BAN ON TAMILS"

THE Council for Liberal Democracy (of Sri Lanka) deplores the decision of the Government to send Tamil employees of state institutions considered to be sensitive from the point of view of security, on compulsory leave. The CLD strongly asserts that our just outrage at the increasingly bestial acts of violence committed by terrorists should not lead us to view wth suspicion law-abiding citizens of this country on the basis of race. An attitude of suspicion extended to all our people who happen to be Tamils is offensive to a liberal conception of society and human relationships. An attempt to associate in the public mind, all Tamils with terrorists is fatal to any sensible settlement of the crisis which engulfs us now. A response based on racism, a blanket condemnation of people whose only crime is their birth, is the worst possible response at the present time.

It is incumbent upon the Sri Lankan State to demonstrate unequivocally that all its citizens, including Tamils, have equal rights and freedoms, that they can all live their lives in freedom, peace and dignity. Such a demonstration, alone, can be the starting point of an effective destruction of campaign for Eelam and the murder and mayhem caused in its name.

It is by asserting both here and abroad that the Tamil people have a great and honourable place in the life of this nation, that the terrible conflict that rages now threatens their future as much as the other sections of the Sri Lankan population, and that it is in the common interest of all Sri Lankans to bring this conflict to an end, that settlement can be brought about.

The indiscriminate measures taken against Tamil employees of Government institutions achieves the opposite. The Council for Liberal Democracy therefore appeals to the Government to abandon this unjust and unconstructive measure.

Chanaka Amaratunga
Jt. Sec. Council for Liberal Democracy

books

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"You Have Pushed The Tamils To Support Separatism"

NEW MP TELLS GOVERNMENT

'Only your 3 Tamil Ministers and their henchmen are still with you. You have pushed most of the others to the position of the Eelam separatists. Now you even suspect every Tamil of being a separatist or terrorist and unjustly exclude them from so-called sensitive positions in the administration for no other reason than they happen to be Tamils. If you baselessly suspect nearly two million citizens of Sri Lanka in this way, you have no right to call yourself the government of Sri Lanka", said Mr. D.E.W. Gunasekera, MP, in the course of his maiden speech in Parliament on 20 June during the debate on the extension of the state of emergency.

Mr. GUNASEKERA, who was nominated by the Communist Party as MP for Kalawana following the untimely tragic death of Mr. Sarath Muttetuwegama, established himself as a worthy successor with a powerful and thought-out speech.

Stating that the situation in Parliament did not reflect the actualities of the situation in the country, where acute and many-sided crisis prevailed, he said that he would oppose the extension of the emergency in the same way that his predecessor had done and as his party directed.

"This emergency", he declared, "is being extended for the 36th time. This means that three years have elapsed since it was first introduced in 1983. My predecessor, Sarath Muttetuwegama, voted against the extension of this emergency 33 times in succession. I will continue to do the same".

Referring to the speech of the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, who introduced the motion to extend the emergency on behalf of the government, D.E.W. Gunasekera said that he had only referred to certain events that had taken place in the month since the last declaration. He demanded that, instead, the Minister should enumerate what had happened in the three years since the continuing emergency was first introduced so that people could form a clear picture of the enormous price that the country was paying in human lives and property for the non-solution of the problem for which the emergency had been declared.

Pointing an accusing finger at the government benches, he asked them to tell the House and the country –

(a) How many people in all had been killed in the past three years?

(b) How many had been maimed or crippled?

(c) How much money had the government spent on its so-called "war against terrorism", what was the effect of this on the economy; and how much foreign exchange had been lost?

Saying that even if these questions could be answered in substantive terms, D.E.W. Gunasekera said that it was impossible to assess the traumatic psychological effects that this senseless slaughter had on the minds of the people, especially the young.

The Finance Minister, he quoted, has said "Even if the ethnic war is stopped immediately it will take at least ten years for the economy to recover from the devastation it has caused so far".

The Communist Party's MP said that in his opinion this was an "underestimate". He quoted a number of figures from government reports including those of the Central Bank to show the actual damage that the so-called ethnic war had caused.

The present crisis that Sri Lanka was experiencing was all-pervading and ran through all spheres of social activity. International factors, the domestic situation and, above all, the government's disastrous policies had all contributed to the aggravation of the crisis. The ethnic issue was only supplementary. But unless it was solved the rest of the crisis could not be tackled.

He charged the government with refusing to recognise that there was an ethnic problem. Instead it sought to sweep this under the carpet by raising the bogey of Marxism.

"You did not identify the problem and its causes, implications and complications. You drew conclusions from what appeared on the surface without trying to make any in-depth analysis of its nature. As a result your approach was unrealistic and unscientific and you could not find any practical solutions" he said.

Accusing some members of the government of approaching the question with the outlook of slave society and some others with the outlook of feudal society, he said that it was little wonder that its strategy had gone wrong both politically and militarily.

He reminded the UNP that 90 per cent of the Tamils outside the north and east had been deceived by its demagogic promises in 1977 and had voted for it. How many of them are with you today? he asked.

"Only your three Tamil Ministers and their henchmen are still with you. You have pushed most of the others to the position of the Eelam separatists. Now you even suspect every Tamil of being a separatist or terrorist and unjustly exclude them from so-called sensitive positions in the administration for no other reason than they happen to be Tamils.

"If you baselessly suspect nearly two million citizens of Sri Lanka in this way, you have no right to call yourself the government of Sri Lanka."

'Three years ago, many people in the other seven provinces thought that what was happening concerned only the north and east of the country. Now the war has come to their doorstep and bombs and bomb scares are the order of the day. But all you can do for the people is to advise them to protect themselves as best they can. And you call yourselves a government:

"Today you are not merely isolated from the north and the east. You are isolated from the rest of the people of this country and from the rest of the world. People regard you in the same way as they regard South Africa. Are you happy with this image?"

"Even your so-called capitalist friends are speaking ill of you. A recent issue of TIME Magazine called your President "a wily and unpredictable politican". This is mild compared with what people here say. The mouth-piece of capitalism, the London ECONOMIST, has recently editorially advised the President that he cannot hope to win this way by the use of guns and told him to abandon such untenable ideas. On behalf of our party my predecessor, Sarath Muttetuwegama, has been telling you time after time since 1981 that you cannot settle ethnic questions with weapons of war. Haven't you yet learnt that lesson?

"Just put yourselves in the position of the Tamils. Suppose the Sinhalese were the minority nationality and had to experience the discriminations and injustices that the Tamils have had to endure. If your basic democratic rights were being attacked and you were treated as inferiors or aliens in a country where you have lived for over two thousand years, would you also not want to fight back?"

"Some of the members opposite ask how they could accept solutions that are unacceptable to the Sinhalese people. I ask them to examine their consciences. Was it not people like you who created this situation which you now try to foster on the Sinhalese people? Since 1977, people like you have been trying to educate the Sinhalese people in a spirit of racist chauvinism, using the schools, the textbooks, the media, religious platforms, cultural activities to create ideas that only the Sinhalese have rights in Sri Lanka and that others are here only on sufferance. Have you stopped even now to think what traumatic effect there will be on our schoolchildren, who are being involved in allegedly anti-Tamil "security drills"? If some Sinhalese people have such ideas, it is people like you who have put them into their heads!

"I would ask members opposite to read their speeches made over the years, especially the last nine years. You will find how you have contributed towards creating the present situation. So if you want to have the Sinhalese people accept a negotiated solution which is fair and just, you should start undoing what you have done so far.

"Many UNP backbenchers have put their dilemma to me in these terms: "If we criticise what the government is doing, we will be accused of helping the terrorists. If we support the government, we invite terrorism to our doorstep". I can sympathise with them, but unless they have the courage to break out of this dilemma, they will have to bear full responsibility for the further chaos and killing that will inevitably ensue".

D.E.W. GUNASEKERA, whom the CPSL has appointed to fill the vacancy in Parliament created by the tragic death of Sarath Muttetuwegama in a motor accident, was born in the village of Hungama, in Hambantota.

He hails from a peasant family. After his secondary education at Rahula College, Matara, where he first came into contact with the Communist Party as a schoolboy, he joined the Inland Revenue Department.

Acquiring a higher education while in service, he rose to be an Investigating Officer and, later, an Assessor in the Inland Revenue Department.

While working in the department, he was an active trade unionist and pioneered the founding of the Public Service Trade Union Federation. He was for many years the secretary of the Joint Committee of Trade Unions in the Inland Revenue Department.

D.E.W. Gunasekera joined the Communist Party of Sri Lanka in 1958 where he worked in several capacities. After first working as an Assistant Secretary of the CPSL Colombo District Committee, he was elected to the Central Committee at the 8th Party Congress in 1972 and later to the Political Bureau.

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Jaffna Hindu brothers, seek doctor, engineer, accountant, similar profession, students considered, for sister (28 years) in London, tall, fair, slim, attractive. Part accountancy and computers. **Box M112, c/o Tamil Times.**

Jaffna Hindu brother, seeks partner for 25 year old sister, following accountancy studies in UK. Students gladly considered. **Box M113, c/o Tamil Times.**

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Mother seeks Tamil Christian bridegroom, good mixer, mid 30's, for working daughter, UK citizen. **Box M115, c/o Tamil Times.**

Deaths

JOYCE VIMALAWATHY ROSA, wife of Rev. Christie Rosa, mother of Christine Anketell, etell, Priyadharshini Niles and Kumudhini, daughter of the late Proctor S.V. Chinniah and Mrs. Poorna Chinniah, sister of Esmie Niles and Kamala Sugunarajah, Colombo, March 1986.

E.W. DEVASAGAYAM, retired Customs officer, husband of Mani (née Evarts), father of Shanthi Handy, Subitha Nesarajah, Harichandran and Manokaran. Died 10th June, Colombo.

ALICE KURIAKOSE, wife of C.K. Kuriakose and daughter of late Mr. C.O. Elias and Mrs. Elias of Vaddukoddai. Died 2nd May, Kerala.

MRS. MUTHUMALAR PAUL née Snell, wife of the late Dr. W.R.C. Paul, Director of Agriculture and mother of Priya (Nigeria) and Dilo (USA), died Kandy, June 1986.

Marriages

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriages:

DR. LOSHAN KANGESU (son of Dr. and Mrs. E.E. Kangesu) and **RAMANI MAHENDRA** (daughter of Dr. C.C. and Dr. (Mrs.) MEENA MAHENDRA), on 12th July.

JAYENDRAN (son of Mr. R. Namasivayam and the late Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Namasivayam) and **MANJULA** (daughter of Dr. C. and Mrs S. Sornalingam), on 14th July.

PATHMAKUMAR (son of Mr. and Mrs. C. Sri Pathmanathan) and **KUMUTHINI** (daughter of Mrs. K. Mahadeva, and the late Mr. R. Mahadeva), on 22nd June.

PREMAKUMAR NILES (son of late Mr. G.C. Niles and of Mrs. Arul Niles) and **SHANTHINI XAVIER** (daughter of Mr. and Mrs. B. Fred Xavier), on 5th July.

BREMAKUMAR (son of Mr. and Mrs. C. Sivasampu) and **JAYANTHINI** (daughter of the late Mr. R. Mahadeva and of Mrs. K. Mahadeva), on 12th July.

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NORTHERN TAMILS GET-TOGETHER

The Northern Tamil Association – a Manchester based non-political cultural organisation – presented recently in Victoria Park, Manchester, an evening of Bharata Natyam, song and music. Tamils (and others) from many nations including Sri Lanka, India, Malaysia, Singapore, Mauritius, South Africa and Fiji attended.

The picture shows two of the artistes from the north west, Mrs. Thiruchelvi Shanmugabavan and Dr. Mathi Chandrakumar, in the course of a musical rendering at this well-attended function.

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TAMIL CONVENTION NEW YORK (1986) PLEDGE

This convention sends to all Tamil speaking people, residing now in foreign countries all over the world our fraternal greetings. We urge all Tamil speaking people and all Tamil organisations overseas to liaise together, and co-operate for the common good, and set up appropriate machinery for such co-operation. Be mindful of the sufferings and the atrocities borne by the Tamils in Sri Lanka, to render relief, support those who are struggling to restore human rights and self determination, and publicise in our respective countries the fact of genocide. To achieve these ends we pledge ourselves.

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Tribute To TRRO President

MR. Karthigesu Visvalingam, JP, 69, of Thavady, Jaffna, General Manager and a member of the Governing Council of the New Era Publications Ltd, publishers of the Saturday Review, died at the Jaffna Hospital on 1st June after a brief illness.

He was also Chairman of The Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO), a member of the Jaffna Citizens' Committee and a number of other religious and social service organisations.

He served for thirty years in the administrative section of the Police Department.

Thereafter he devoted his energies to social and religious work, with refugee relief through the TRRO taking up most of his energies.

The Council of the NEP Ltd., at an emergency meeting on 4th June 1986, passed a vote of condolence on the death of Mr. Visvalingam.

Tributes were paid to the services rendered by Mr. Visvalingam to the Tamil community at a memorial meeting held at the Hindu Lodge, Nallur, on 4th June.

Among the speakers were The Bishop of Jaffna Rt. Rev. B. Deogupillai and the Municipal Commissioner of Jaffna, Mr. C.V.K. Sivagnanam.

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'OPERATION SHORTSHRIFT' CONTINUES

SITUATION WORSENS IN NORTH SRI LANKA

The intensification of the virtual civil war in the northern province, especially in the Jaffna peninsula, has made it more and more difficult for the people of these areas both to avoid being killed and to eke out an existence.

THE government's military attacks and air operations in the Valvettiturai and Thondamannar areas in the east of Jaffna and in parts of the Jaffna Municipal Council area (which began on June 11th and continued for four days) would have had even more casualties if the people had not evolved their own air raid precautions like digging safety trenches, falling face-down on the ground and learning how to disperse quickly from congested places like schools, markets and offices.

The casualties that occurred were often abandoned by their relatives, who fled to take refuge elsewhere from the helicopter gunships and other aircraft as well as on the coast from naval bombardment. Large numbers of schools are congested with these refugees, who get no help from the government.

KILINOCHCHI

The battle at Kilinochchi which resumed on June 9th and has continued for several days, has also left a big toll of death and destruction.

Reports from persons on the spot speak of the corpses of servicemen, militants, and uninvolved civilians strewn throughout the district in an advanced state of putrefaction and unattended for days.

Under cover of the prolonged curfew, the army has been able to collect some of its dead, as well as damaged vehicles, and to bring in reinforcements from other camps and the south.

Face to face battles with LTTE units, some of which seem to have been encircled, have led to much killing on both sides. Irrigation tanks, culverts and bridges have been blown up to impede the free movement of troops and traffic.

During the temporary lull on June 7 and 8, an attempt was made by the authorities to allow traffic between Jaffna and Anuradhapura to bypass Kilinochchi through a deviation at Paranthan via Mullativu to Puliankulam but even this was made impossible after these two days. As a result, hardly any non-military vehicles ply between Colombo and Jaffna.

In the course of the Kilinochchi fighting, the telecommunications signal tower was damaged. Both the army and the militants accuse each other of this, although people on the spot hold the army responsible.

But the net effect is that telephone and telegraphic services between north and south have been severely disrupted, indeed almost completely. There are also no mails to or from Jaffna and news is mainly received from radios and, in some cases, T.V. Most people, who distrust Lankapuvath with good reason, get their information from Indian radio stations, the BBC and other foreign broadcasts.

The food and fuel situation in the Jaffna peninsula is now desperate. Fuel for private persons is completely impossible, as even the former illicit supplies at black-market rates have dried up. Sugar and milk food for children are in very short supply and can be located with difficulty.

Jaffna's onion and potato cultivation has been an almost total failure. All attempts to fight a disease that has attacked these crops have proved ineffective as fertilisers, insecticides etc. are hardly available.

As a result of the almost complete breakdown of lorry transport to and from the south, Jaffna's produce is unsold while supplies of rice, ulunthu (oorid), green gram, groundnuts and a host of other consumer items are unavailable.

The prohibition of lagoon fishing, coming on top of the heavy restrictions and extreme risk of sea fishing, has virtually taken fish off the diet of the Jaffna folk.

Newspapers published outside the peninsula arrive irregularly and often not at all. Many areas in Jaffna are also literally kept "in the dark" as the militants, in severing the electricity connections to several army camps and minicamps have also caused civilian supply to suffer.

POOREST HIT

The poorest of the poor find things most difficult. They have not even received the new food stamps which were to be issued. These should have become valid on June 15 but the lorries transporting them to Jaffna, accompanied by the Jaffna Government Agent, were intercepted and burnt when they were bombed at Paranthan from the air, reducing food stamps and pension papers to ashes. The G.A. himself had a narrow escape. But the poor are without food stamps and pensioners without their pensions.

However, in the midst of all this, progressive forces in Jaffna are also active. A 6,000 strong demonstration was taken out on June 6th despite the bombings, under the sponsorship of the Joint Committee of Trade Unions (Northern Region), the Co-ordinating Committee for struggle against the oppression of the Tamil speaking people, and other organisations demanding that the government's military offensive and its attacks on the Tamil people at large should stop, that the economic and other difficulties of the Tamils in north should be redressed, and that a cease fire, the return of troops to barracks, and a negotiated political settlement should be reached.

The peninsula-wide hartal in honour of Sarath Muttetuwegama on the day of his funeral was another example.

The situation in the north has been worsened by the government's decision to deploy its considerable strength in certain areas its notorious Special Task Force (STF), a special section of the police which has been trained in terror and throat-cutting by the S.A.S. mercenaries and Mossad. These "Dark Uniforms" as the local people call them due to the special black uniforms they wear, have been air-lifted to Jaffna, Vavuniya and Kilinochchi in strength. They have already practised their special training at Mandataivu, an island off Jaffna, at Perappakanthan in the Mannar district and elsewhere.

(By courtesy of "Forward", 1.7.86)

Tulf In Colombo

Continued from page 1

ernment's proposals will be introduced in Parliament in mid-August irrespective of whether the Tamil groups agree or not; any amendments which do not reduce the scope of the government's proposals submitted by political parties will be considered; however the ultimate decision whether to accept any amendment or not will be taken by the government and not by the PPC; the proposals were formulated within the framework of the present unitary constitution of Sri Lanka and therefore it would be wrong to refer to them as a 'federal solution'; the proposals would be implemented through constitutional amendments and there would be no referendum; if the courts determined that any of the proposals required approval at a referendum, those would be dropped; the possibility of the repeal of the sixth amendment was there once the conference got going; and if the Tamil militants gave up arms and 'terrorism', he was prepared to give them an amnesty.

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WITHOUT COMMENT

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Now in its fifth year this polished newsletter is a chronicle of the ongoing struggle of the minority Tamil people for self-determination on the island of Sri Lanka (Ceylon). Faced with what they regard as a conspiracy of silence about their desperate cause the editors of the Tamil Times issue their impassioned pleas month after month for better world understanding of the causes and nature of their struggle and for effective national and international sanctions against the regime of Sri Lankan President Jayawardene.

The Tamil Times presents polished, professional, and well-researched articles and documentation on a liberation struggle that is indeed little known – especially in the Americas.

– From 'Third World Resources', Vol II, No. 1, Spring 1986

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